The Ethiopian Homily on the Ark of the Covenant

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The Ethiopian Homily on the Ark of the Covenant

Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of
Dərsanä Ṣəyon

By

Amsalu Tefera

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To my father, the late Rev. Tefera Alemu

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Foreword

In this volume Amsalu Tefera offers the critical edition, translation and commentary, preceded by an informative introduction, of a Gəʿəz (Classical Ethiopic) text, the *Homily on the Ark of the Covenant*, together with two related texts—the *Miracles of Mary Zion* and the *Effigy of Zion*—that well illustrate three of the most representative and vital genres of the Christian Ethiopian literary tradition.

The edited texts have an intrinsic interest, since the elaboration on the Ark of the Covenant is of great significance for the much debated question of the spread and impact of the Jewish heritage on Christian Ethiopia. The three texts contribute to enrich the corpus of traditions known so far and stimulate further debates. Under this respect, the *Homily* complements what is found in the *Kəbrä Nägäśt* and adds many elements of detail on the way the ideological construction of Ethiopia as the 'Chosen Country' and as the true *Verus Israel* gradually emerged.[1]

Besides the interest of the contents, there are two other points which I would like to mention shortly here.

The first is the scholarly impact of the *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*,[2] as is also testified by its large use in the present volume. The *Encyclopaedia* has become an indispensable reference tool in Ethiopian Studies and related fields, provides a comprehensive overview and a reliable introduction to all main topics, and will certainly keep on helping improve the state of the art in the field in the coming years.

The second question is one of method, that is crucial and must be duly underlined. The three Gəʿəz texts presented in this book, most of all the *Homily*, are critically edited according to the Neo-Lachmannian (that is, text-critical reconstructive) methodology. This trend was initiated in Ethiopian Studies a few decades ago by Paolo Marrassini (1942–2013),[3] with the intention of apply-

1 For nothing more than a first introduction to the crucial topics, see the bibliography and some of the essays collected in Alessandro Bausi (ed.), *Languages and Cultures of Eastern Christianity*: *Ethiopian*, lii–liii and 121–186 (section 'The 'Judaic Component'') (Variorum, The Worlds of Eastern Christianity (300–1500) 4, Farnham, Surrey 2012).

2 Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 1 (*A–C*) (Wiesbaden 2003); vol. 2 (*D–Ha*) (2005); vol. 3 (*He–N*) (2007); in cooperation with Alessandro Bausi (ed.), vol. 4 (*O–X*) (2010); A. Bausi in cooperation with S. Uhlig (ed.), vol. 5 (*Y–Z, Supplementa, Addenda et Corrigenda, Maps, Index*) (2014).

3 For a short biograhical sketch and the list of his publications, cf. now Alessandro Bausi, 'In

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ing a 'normal' way of dealing with Ethiopic texts and text editions. Following in the steps of proposals conceived as early as by Marrassini, in consultation with Taddesse Tamrat (1935–2013), and myself, it is the special merit of two colleagues of Addis Ababa University, namely Baye Yimam and Shiferaw Bekele, to have understood the potential and the importance of the philological approach for a refounding of academic scholarship on Ethiopian texts (from both the Christian and the Islamic tradition), and also Ethiopian Studies in general, within the framework of a more solid and reliable methodology.

The result was the establishment at Addis Ababa University of MA and PhD programmes in Philology, respectively in 2004 and 2007, where Marrassini, together with other colleagues in the course of time (among whom Orin Gensler deserves to be particularly mentioned here), passionately taught courses and tutored dozens of students, still during the last difficult years of his life, at times provided with no other means than his intelligence, his word, and his indefatigable dedication and great knowledge.

Among the early students of the Addis Ababa University Philology programmes figured Amsalu Tefera. He was actually the first one who successfully defended his PhD dissertation at Addis Ababa University, in 2011,[4] and he is finding now his own way in Ethiopian Studies as a staff member at the same university. What is published in this volume is a revised version of his PhD dissertation.

To preface this work is therefore a motif of particular satisfaction for me, as a pupil of Paolo Marrassini and as a member of the editorial board of the series of Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity. But it is even more a motif of hope for the future of Ethiopian philological studies.

Prof. Dr. Alessandro Bausi
Hamburg, January 2015

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memoriam Paolo Marrassini (1942–2013)', and 'Bibliography of Paolo Marrassini', in Alessandro Bausi, Alessandro Gori and Gianfrancesco Lusini (eds), *Linguistic, Oriental and Ethiopian Studies in Memory of Paolo Marrassini*, xxvii–xlv (Wiesbaden 2014), slightly corrected and updated reprint from *Aethiopica* 16 (2013): 200–212.

4 Dərsanä Ṣəyon: *Philological Inquiries, Textual Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*. A dissertation submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Philology. Supervisors: Prof. Paolo Marrassini; Prof. Baye Yimam. February 2011.

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I have no words to adequately express my gratitude to my wife Alemtsehay and my children Kidus and Tsion for their love, support and great patience.

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Glossary

Adiaphoric variant (from Greek *adiáphoros* 'indifferent') is any variant which is of no use in establishing a *stemma* (because banal, polygenetic, etc.).

ʿAmätä Məḥrät lit. 'Year of Mercy'; the year after the Birth of Christ, as expressed in the Ethiopian Calendar (EC).

Apparatus Criticus also called 'Critical Apparatus'; an apparatus which shows, for each page, all the variant readings found on that page in all the various subfamilies and text witnesses.

Archetype the hypothetical manuscript from which all attested manuscripts of the text derive.

Arke a collection of short hymns at the end of the lives of saints.

Ars critica art and methodology of Textual Criticism.

Bipartite stemma a family tree or *stemma* in which every branching node has two branches. (cf. *Stemma Codicum*).

Codex sheets of papyrus or vellum folded and sewn together; the forerunner of the modern book.

Codex optimus the 'best' codex.

Codex unicus a text which is attested only in a single witness.

Codicology the study of the physical layout, handwriting page and makeup of a codex.

Collation careful comparison of manuscripts and compilation of a list of their differences.

Colophon an end note of a manuscript, usually presenting facts relating to its production.

Composite text a manuscript which contains two or more codicological units.

Conflated readings two readings that have been combined.

Conjunctive error an error appearing in two or more manuscripts which is so serious and so unusual as to make it impossible to suppose that it arose more than once. Cf. 'shared innovation'.

Corrupted reading a reading that departs from the original text due to a copyist's mistake or alteration.

Dərsan an exegetical or homiletic text written by an ecclesiastical interpreter.

Dittography reduplication of a syllable, word, or longer unit (antonym of haplography).

Editio princeps first printed edition (of a given text).

Eliminatio codicum descriptorum elimination of derivative manuscripts.

emendatio 'emendation'; an attempt to reconstruct an original reading that has not survived in any of the extant witnesses. It is the final stage in preparing a critical edition.

examinatio 'examination' of the witnesses isolated by the *recensio*.

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ʿəqa bet lit. 'storehouse'; in the Axumite tradition it is a title given to the guardian of the Ark of the Covenant.

Facsimile an exact copy or reproduction of something such as a document, a coin, or somebody's handwriting.

Fission incorrect splitting of one word into two.

Folio leaf of the manuscript (comprising two pages, recto and verso).

Fusion two words incorrectly joined as one word.

Gädl a Geʿez term which literally means 'combat' or 'struggle', and by extension 'hagiography'. The equivalent Latin term is 'Vita'. It refers to a book which contains the biography and miracles of a saint (cf. 'Hagiography').

Hagiography literary genre about the life and legends of a saint (cf. *Gädl*).

Haplography incorrect omission of one of two identical letters, syllables, word, etc. that occur in sequence; writing once what ought to be written twice (antonym of 'dittography').

Homoioarchton a copying error involving loss of text when the copyist's eye 'jumps' from a sequence of letters to an identical or similar sequence of letters at the beginning of two words or phrases typically on two successive lines.

Homoioteleuton a copying error involving loss of text when the copyist's eye 'jumps' from a sequence of letters to an identical or similar sequence of letters at the end of two words or phrases typically on two successive lines.

Homophony words which are identical in sound but different in meaning.

Infixation matters which have been inserted into a codicological unit so as to create an enlarged codicological unit.

Internal evidence evidence relevant to a text-critical judgment which is derived from within the text in question.

lectio difficilior 'the harder reading'.

lectio facilior 'easier reading'.

Mälkəʾ lit. 'effigy', 'image', 'resemblance', 'likeness' etc. A poetical category of the EOTC, praising the body parts of a holy person.

Mäzämmər 'singer' in the EOTC.

Metathesis cf. transposition.

Monomerous a codex which contains only a single codicological unit.

Nəburä əd title of the head of the Axumite Cathedral.

Orbis Aethiopicus general term for Ethiopian Studies.

Paleography the study of ancient scripts, especially their form and development.

Polygenetic error an error which can easily occur multiple times independently in various textual witnesses. It has no importance for establishing a *stemma*.

Recensio 'Recension', a general examination and evaluation of the evidence of the textual witnesses.

Recentiores more recent witnesses.

Recto the side of a folio which is read first (antonym of *Verso*).

Septuagint (LXX) the oldest Greek version of Old Testament.

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Shared innovation a variation or 'error' shared among different textual witnesses. Cf. 'Conjunctive error'.

(sic) 'thus' or 'so', used within brackets to indicate that what precedes it was written intentionally or was copied verbatim from the original, even if it appears to be a mistake.

Sigla a brief identifying 'code' or label given to the manuscript(s).

Stemma Codicum a genealogical tree showing the relationship of the surviving witnesses based on their common innovation(s). Cf. Stemmatology.

Stemmatology also called 'Stemmatics', is a rigorous approach to textual criticism, involving the building of a (not necessarily rooted) stemma.

Suti a piece of cloth that serves to cover a codex, mostly on top of a wooden board and leather cover.

Täsʿattu lit. 'nine'; a mark of the Ethiopic punctuation system, which consist of nine dots (typically five dots in red and four in black).

Tä'ammər 'miracle'.

Text critic someone who examines the variations between manuscripts and versions in order to determine the most plausible original reading of a text.

Text transmission the process by which a text is transmitted over the years through repeated copying.

Textual family a group of manuscripts that are genetically related by virtue of being copies stemming from the same (original or intermediate) manuscript.

Textual witness any manuscript which contains a given text.

Textus Receptus lit. 'received text'; a standard form of the text, widely available.

Theonym name of God.

Toponym place name.

Transposition a copying error involving an exchange in the position of two or (rarely) more letters within a word, or an exchange of two words or of two multi-word sequences.

usus scribendi the stylistic and linguistic habits of the author.

Variant reading any difference between two or more textual witnesses of the same text.

Verso the side of a folio which is read second (antonym of *recto*).

Vorlage the manuscript or text from which a scribe copied and/or translated a text.

Zena 'news'.

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Introduction

Writing and literature in Geʿez arose mainly in the milieu of the Ethiopian clergy, who lived in monasteries and at the court of the emperor and of powerful noblemen; here literature satisfied the demands of the patrons, who protected and supported the authors and copyists as well as paid for writing materials. Although the existence of secular subjects among the manuscript material is not deniable, religious matters predominate. Translations of the Holy Bible, hagiographies of saints, homiletic writings, royal chronicles and accounts of wars, liturgical and hymnological works, philosophical and juridical writings, theological and ecclesiastical books, magical scrolls[1] etc. are common types of the Ethiopic literary heritage. The earliest Ethiopic literature consisted primarily of translations from Greek and Arabic. But later especially after the medieval era, indigenous writings multiplied exuberantly. Giyorgis of Gasəčča (d. EC *Ḥamle* 7, 1417 = AD July 1, 1425), Emperor Zär'a Yaʿəqob (r. 1434–1468), Arkä Śəllus (flourished during the reign of Bä'ədä Maryam (1468–1478)), Ǝčäge Ǝnbaqom (d. ca. 1560) and *abba* Baḥrəy (flourished during the time of Śärṣä Dəngəl (1563–1597)) are prominent Ethiopian authors. Medieval Ethiopian literature is particularly rich in hagiographies, which constitute the largest group of sources for medieval Ethiopian history and above all cultural history.[2] But there is also a huge amount of exegetical and homiletic literature.

Relatively speaking, hagiographies, though not sufficiently so, have been much more studied than homilies. *Dərsanä Ṣəyon*, 'Homily [in honor] of Zion' (henceforth DṢ), one among the ancient texts of Ethiopia, has not yet been studied so far. DṢ glorifies and venerates the Ark of the Covenant (henceforth AC) and has close similarity to *Kəbrä Nägäśt* 'Dignity of Kings' (henceforth KN). Both KN and DṢ are prime sources on the coming of the Ark of the Covenant to Ethiopia. Thus, the account in KN is the base for the ideology and the Ark story in Ethiopia.

DṢ is read on the 21st of the month of *Kanun* (November). It is not easy to determine the date of its composition, but the oldest known manuscript is dated to the 15th cent. AD. Hence we can assume the original must have been composed in the 14th cent. AD or earlier. We read in the text that the author was an illiterate shepherd of goats and sheep.

1 Cf. Getatchew 2005b: 736–741.

2 Cf. Kaplan 1984: 1–14; Marrassini 1982: 1–10, here p. 3.

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DṢ speaks about various matters. As a Christian theological text, it commences with a doxology of the Holy Trinity. It glorifies the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Incarnation is also discussed broadly in the text. DṢ is one of the best sources on Mariology, the glory and symbols of St. Mary. The text frequently uses the epithet Zion for St. Mary and the Ark of the Covenant. It praises Zion Mary for Her miraculous deeds and wonders.

We find allegorical descriptions of the Virgin from DṢ as the Celestial Zion, the Ark of the Law, habitation of the Lord, the country of the great King, Bride of Lebanon, Zion the gate of Paradise, the golden ship, our Mother Zion, holder of the dew of divinity, etc. Besides, the text preserves praises, prodigies and miracles performed by St. Mary.

There are also other topics DṢ deals with: a detailed narration of how the Lord bestowed the two Tablets of the Law to Moses; the theological interpretation of the Ark (*Tabot*), Tablets of the Law (*Ṣəllat*), and the equivalent NT hermeneutical qualities; OT and Judaic episodes presented in NT and Ethiopian Christian versions; mighty deeds and astonishing miracles of the Ark of the Covenant; the construction of the Temple of Solomon and its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, the concealment of the Ark of the Covenant, etc. Much space will be given in the present book to various matters related to the content, theme, textual values and biblical allusions in DṢ.

The book is organized in two major sections. The first section presents general subjects related to DṢ, such as *Tabot* traditions in the Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwaḥədo* Church (henceforth EOTC), traditions on Zion and Axum, discussions and analysis are included. The second section presents the critical edition and translation of DṢ and related texts dedicated to Zion: *Zena Ṣəyon* 'News of Zion', *Tä'ammərä Ṣəyon* 'Miracle of Zion' and *Mälkə'a Ṣəyon* 'Effigy of Zion'.

Objective

The general aim of this work is the textual reconstruction and translation of DṢ, based on Neo-Lachmannian editorial methodology. More specifically, the following goals can be detailed:

1) To establish the *stemma codicum* through the analysis of the text transmission, by consulting the catalogues, obtaining the available versions of DṢ from different archives and localities, and collating them.
2) To reconstruct the text which is supposed to be the nearest to the original text of DṢ or to its archetype and provide by the required *ars critica* a critical

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edition and an annotated translation, with the texts of the 'Miracles of Zion' and 'Effigy of Zion' appended.

3) To ascertain the text arrangement of DṢ in contrast to KN and *Dərsanä Maryam* 'Homiliary on Mary'.

4) To discuss Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwaḥədo* Church teachings and popular traditions on DṢ and related subjects such as Ark of the Covenant, Zion, Axum, Axumite coronation, etc. in the Ethiopian context.

Scope

The edition contained in this book is based on ten DṢ manuscripts, collected from different monasteries and archives. The collection covers: Axum Zion Cathedral [1 MS], Ṭana monasteries (Däbrä Maryam [1 MS] and Ṭana Qirqos [2 texts: 1 unpublished MS and 1 published text]), Baḥər Dar (Kota Maryam [1 MS]), Fogära Bäbbäks Däbrä Gännät Maryam [1 MS], Däbrä Tabor (Dära) Šəme Maryam [1 MS], Addis Ababa, Ǝnṭoṭṭo St. Mary Church [1 MS], and Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency (NALA) [2 MSS]. Most of the manuscripts are microfilm copies (obtained from the National Archives and Library Agency (NALA), AA; Berlin State Library, Germany; and St. John's University, Collegeville, MN, USA)). Four of ten are texts (not digital copies). The time span covered by the collected manuscripts ranges from the 15th to the 20th cent. AD.

Fidäl Symbols and Transliteration

1 *Consonants*

ሀ h	ረ r	ተ t	አ ʾ	ዠ ž	ጠ ṭ	ፈ f
ለ l	ሰ s	ቸ č	ከ k	የ y	ጨ č̣	ፐ p
ሐ ḥ	ሸ š	ኀ ḫ	ኸ ḵ	ደ d	ጸ ṗ	ቈ qʷ
መ m	ቀ q	ነ n	ወ w	ጀ ǧ	ፀ ṣ	ኀ ḫʷ
ሠ ś	በ b	ኘ ñ	ዐ ʿ	ገ g	ፀ ḍ	ኰ kʷ
			ዘ z			ጐ gʷ

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2 *Vowels*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ä	u	i	a	e	ə or no vowel	o
ሀ = bä	ሁ = bu	ሂ = bi	ሃ = ba	ሄ = be	ህ = bə, b	ሆ = bo

3 *Numerals*

፩	፪	፫	፬	፭	፮	፯	፰	፱	፲
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
፳	፴	፵	፶	፷	፸	፹	፺	፻	፼
20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	1000

Signs

The following symbols are used in the apparatus:

[§]	indicates section.
<	indicates a derivation from.
*	indicates a hypothetical word.
[|] (bar)	is applied in order to separate numbers between variants in the critical apparatus.
⌜ ⌝	(half brackets) are used to indicate the starting and ending of variants consisting of more than one word.
[ ]	(square brackets) are used to indicate restorations in cases of physical damage or corrupted texts.
† … †	Greek *obelós* (sing.), *obeloí* (pl.) 'cross' also called *Crux desperationis*—is applied in the case of irremediable corruptions where no restoration can be proposed.

In the translated text, ( ) or [ ] is used with words which are not in the Gəʿəz text but are necessary in the translation.

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Abbreviations[3]

AC	Ark of the Covenant.
add.	*addit*, *addunt*, 'it adds, they add'.
BL	London, British Library.
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.
ca.	*circa* 'about'.
cent.	century.
ch/s.	chapter/s.
col.	column.
comp.	compiler.
cf.	compare.
DAE	Deutsche Aksum-Expedition.
des.	*desinit* 'it ends'.
DM	*Dərsanä Maryam* 'Homily [on the honor] of Mary'.
DṢ	*Dərsanä Ṣəyon* 'Homily [on the honor] of Zion'.
EC	Ethiopian Calendar.
ed.	editor/s, edition.
EOTC	Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwaḥədo* Church.
f./ff.	folio/folia.
HMML	Hill Museum & Manuscript Library.
ill.	illegible.
inc.	*incipit* 'it begins'.
KJV	King James Version.
KN	*Kəbrä Nägäśt* 'Dignity of Kings'.
LXX	Septuagint.
MA	*Mäṣḥafä Axum*, *Liber Axumae*, 'Book of Axum'.
Mhr.	*Mämhər* 'teacher'.
MS/S	Manuscript/s.
NALA	Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency.
n.d.	no date is given.
n.p.	no printing detail is given.
NT	New Testament.
om.	*omittit*, *omittunt* 'it omits, they omit'.
Or.	Oriental.
OT	Old Testament.
PN	personal name/s.

3 Biblical abbreviations are not included here.

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pub.	publisher.
r.	*recto*.
rep.	'repeated'.
RSV	Revised Standard Version.
(sic)	to indicate that the preceding word is correctly quoted though erroneous.
s.l.	*supra lineam* 'written above'.
St.	Saint.
trans.	translator/translation.
v.	*verso*.
YHWH	Yahweh.

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SECTION 1

Background and Analysis

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CHAPTER 1

Tabot in the Ethiopian Tradition[1]

1 *Tabot* in EOTC

The presence of a *tabot* is obligatory in every Church of the EOTC. Nöldeke (1910: 37, 42) says that the term *tabot* (ታቦት፡) is considered to have been borrowed into Ethiopic from Jewish Aramaic (*tēḇūṯā/tēḇōṯa*). To the contrary, Rodinson (1960: 64–68) argues that it was borrowed from Arabic. 'In Ethiopic' states Heldman (2010: 802), 'the term has two meanings, referring both to the altar tablet or slab that rests upon the altar chest (መንበረ፡ ታቦት፡); occasionally, it may designate also the altar chest itself. In the Ethiopic Bible, it refers both to the OT Ark of Noah and the Ark of the Covenant in which the Tablets of Law were placed'.[2]

The *tabot* is the case containing the *ṣəllat* (ጽላት፡, singular *ṣəlle* ጽሌ፡)[3] 'slab, tablet'. *Məśwaʿ* (ምሥዋዕ፡) is used in reference to the altar as focal point of the Liturgy; in principle it is a fixed altar, whereas the *tabot* is a mobile one. *Ṣəlle* is a tablet of wooden or marble substance,[4] on which the name of the Lord and the dedicated saint's name are engraved. It is in the likeness of the two Tablets put in the Ark of the Covenant.

The *Mäṣḥafä Senodos* prescribes the presence of two altars (ክልኤቱ፡ ምሥዋዕ፡) in every church: one which is portable, like the stone of children of the Israel

1 About the tradition of *tabot* (tablet) in other churches, cf. Raes (1951: 59–70) and Gorgoryos (1998/1999 [EC 1991]: 95). Libän Makonnən (2000/2001 [EC 1993]: 83) states that altar in the Coptic Church is made from clay or stone in quadrilateral form. A *tabot* with a cross model is engraved over it and the name of the Lord saying 'ALPHA and OMEGA' is inscribed on it. Finally, the Greek acronym of Lord Jesus: IH XP YC OC, is written in the periphery of the *tabot*.

2 See also Dillmann 1865: 560; Leslau 1987: 570.

3 Cf. the statement of Ayalew Tamiru (1961/1962 [EC 1953]: 87) on this issue: ጽሌ ማለት በግእዙ የነጠላነት፣ ጽላት የብዛት ስም ነው፣ ነገር ግን በልማድ እንደ አንድ ኾኖ ይነገራል።። እንዲሁም በጽላት እና በታቦት መካከል የሁኔታና የአነጋገር ልዩነት ሲኖር ልማደኛው ሰው 'ታቦተ ጽዮን ጽላተ ሙሴ ናት' በማለት ሲናገር ይሰማል። '*ṣəlle* in Gəʿəz is a singular and *ṣəllat* is a plural noun; but it is traditionally used as a singular. Even though there is a contextual and lexical difference between *ṣəllat* and *tabot*, some [lit. ordinary people] say '*Tabotä Ṣəyon* is *ṣəllatä Muse*''.

4 The *ṣəlle* is made of stone or a hard wood such as sycamore, although there are records of royal *tabotat* made of gold. Cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 253; Basset 1882: 313; Getatchew 1988: 16, 2006: 62; Agostinos Tedla 1994: 131–157; Libän 2000/2001 [EC 1993]: 19; Pankhurst 1987–1988: 28–32.

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that was carried from place to place in the wilderness, and another that is not removed from its place.[5] In fact, many churches possess more than one *tabot*; only one of them, however, is the main *tabot* and this gives the church its name and the annual feast of the *tabot* is celebrated accordingly.[6]

According to the canon of the EOTC, the presence of a *tabot*[7] is obligatory in every Church.[8] No sacrifice can be offered without a *tabot*.[9] Only a bishop[10] can consecrate a *tabot*.[11] There is a ritual of the consecration of the *tabot*[12] in the EOTC. It is one of the most exotic elements of Ethiopian ecclesiastical practice—a phenomenon exclusive to Ethiopia, a unique ritual object central to all church services. Märḥa Krəstos (2002/2003 [EC 1995]: 15), referring to the song of St. Yared from the *Dəggʷa*, notes about the glory and power of *tabot*: **ወአንቲኒ፡ ታቦት፡ እምኀበኒ፡ መጻእኪ፡ ውኀበኒ፡ ተሐውሪ፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ኩኒ።** 'And

5 Cf. Bausi 1995: 300 (text); Guidi 1897: 16; Paulos Tzadua 1968: 11.

6 See Fritsch 2001: 388; also Heldman 2010: 802–803. For general description of *tabot*, cf. Heyer 1971: 39–45.

7 'The *tabot* is a symbol of the grave of Christ' (Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 253). 'The *tabot* itself is a mystery', Munro-Hay (2006: 27) citing C.H. Walker (1933: 95) who in turn cites an Amhara informant.

8 Cf. Hyatt 1928: 121–122.

9 'It is the *tabot* that is consecrated, rather than the church itself' (Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 252, Munro-Hay 2006: 28). According to EOTC canon, however, the Church also must be consecrated. If not, it is impossible to consider it as a Church, it will simply be an ordinary house. There is a special prayer and solemn for the dedication of a church and consecration of a *tabot*.

10 An archimandrite (**ቆሞስ፡**) can also consecrate a church; however, a *tabot* can only consecrated by a bishop. Cf. Sergew (1989: 162–164).

11 Beckingham and Huntingford (1961: 545) discuss the form of the prayer for the consecration of a new church and *tabot*, and a desecrated one. If the *tabot* is touched by a lay person or by a non-Christian, then it must be reconsecrated by a bishop. For the consecration prayer cf. EMML 4399—Getatchew 1993a: 135–136, EMML 4410—Getatchew 1993a: 140; *Fətḥa Nägäśt* chapter 1 (edition of Guidi 1897: 17), Märsəʾe Hazän (1945/1946 [EC 1938]: 355), Sergew (1989: 162–164), Mekarios et al. (1996, 63 (text), 67 (translation)). St. *abuna* Täklä Haymanot (1215–1313), who was elected as bishop of Ethiopia by the council of Ethiopian scholars and association of clergies (because Egyptian bishops were not able to come to Ethiopia for political reasons and due to Islamic influence), was popular in his miracles and wonders. He traveled to evangelize Ethiopians in all corners. As a result he was given the title **ሐዲስ፡ ሐዋርያ፡ ብርሃን፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ፡** 'New Apostle [and] light of Ethiopia'. As a bishop, he consecrated *tabots* and ordained priests & deacons. For a detailed account, cf. Taddesse 1972: 160–205; Ḫəruy 1921: 114–117, 144–145.

12 Cf. EMML 1206, ff. 167^{v}–171^{r} (cf. Getatchew 1979: 172–179, here 174–175), also Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 543–548, here 545.

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you tabot, [let you] be a medicine wherever you come from and wherever you go'.[13] Kefyalew Merahi (1997: 14) says: 'The tabot is the most holy object of the Ethiopian church. Its sanctity, function and centrality in the ritual of the Ethiopian church is the same as that of the Ark in ancient Israel'. Aymro Wondmagegnehu and Motovu (1970: 46, 48) state regarding the consecration of the *tabot*:

> It is the *tabot* which gives sanctity to the church in which it is placed … The consecration of a church is a solemn and impressive ceremony with rites symbolic of the sacred uses to which the edifice is dedicated … The *tabot*, or Ark, previously consecrated by the Patriarch, is installed with grandeur and is the chief feature of the ceremony.[14]

Munro-Hay (2006: 28) identifies *tabot* with Ark: 'The tabot identified with the Ark, is hedged about in the same way with mystery, hidden in the holiest part of the churches, always wrapped in concealing veils, never seen by a layman's eye. Should profane persons approach it, it must be reconsecrated'.

The *tabot* is dedicated in the name of Holy Trinity, St. Mary, Angels, Apostles, Martyrs, Right men, etc. The EOTC strongly teaches that worship must be attributed and every prayer should be addressed solely to the Lord God. More than one *tabot* can be deposited in the same parish church. In the chronicle of Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob we read his order to every church to have not one single *tabot* in a church, but two or more. The following proclamation is quoted from Munro-Hay (2006: 36) in turn cited from Perruchon (1893: 81): 'One must not put only one tabot into the churches, but two or several, and that among them must be one consecrated to Mary'. Munro-Hay analyses the allegory behind the proclamation of the King as: '… And Mary, of course, in whose womb once dwelt the New Law, Christ, was identified with the Ark of the Covenant that had contained the Old (Mosaic) Law in the form of the Ten Commandments'.

The *ṣəlle* bears an engraving of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ with the images of the Holy Virgin Mary and St. John the disciple, are standing on the right and left sides of the cross respectively; and the divine names of the Lord inscribed thereon, signifying the Incarnation of the Word of God in the

13 Cf. EMML 1206, f. 170^{v}, *Melṭān* (cf. Getatchew 1979: 175). It is also stated in KN ch. 54 (cf. Bezold 1905: 59–61 text, 47–49 trans.).

14 Cf. Hyatt 1928: 121–122; Pankhurst 1987–1988: 29.

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Womb of St. Mary.[15] The term *tabot* usually is used to express both the *tabot* proper and the *ṣəlle*. Mekarios[16] et al. (1996: 61 text, 65 trans.) testify this fact as follows:

> ታቦት እግዚአብሔር በደብረ ሲና ዐሠርቱ ቃላትን በላዩ ጽፎ ለሙሴ ለሰጠው ጽላት ማደሪያ ነው። በቤተክርስቲያናችን ግን ታቦቱ ጽላት እየተባለ ይጠራል። ይህም አዳሪውን በማደሪያው ለመጥራት ነው። ታቦቱ የጽላቱ ማደሪያ ማኖሪያ ብቻ ሳይሆን የእግዚአብሔር መገለጫ ነው።
>
> Tabot is the repository of the *ṣəllat* on which the Ten Commandments were written and given to Moses by the Lord on Mount Sinai. However, in our Church the tabot is called the *ṣəllat*.[17] And this is to call the dweller by the repository. The tabot is not only the dwelling [and] repository of the *ṣəllat*, but also the manifestation of the Lord.
>
> Translation, mine[18]

Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 340) mention that *tabot* is used to describe a stone altar tablet as well as the chest in which the tablet is kept, which must also have contributed to the identification of Tablet and Ark. A stone tablet can be called a *tabot*, and the Ark is also called *tabot*.[19] Beckingham and Huntingford (1961: 543) on the other hand, consider the word *tabot*, which was spelled by Alvares as *tabuto* (sic), to have meant primarily 'ark', 'chest'. Ullendorff (1956: 233) on his part suggests its derivation: '*tabot* is derived from the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic '*tebuta*' (*tebota*) which in turn is a derivation from the Hebrew *tebah*'.[20]

With regard to the type of material for engraving the *tabot*, Hiob Ludolf (1691: 556) states:

> ፔካ ፀዐዳ ዘውእቱ ማርመሩ፤ ኤጲሞስሂ ከማሁ። ኤጲሜድር እብነ በረድ ውእቱ፤ ዘሀሎ በኢትዮጵያ፤ እስመ ይከውን ጽላት ዘይነብር ላዕለ መንበር።

15 Cf. Ermyas 1997: 51.

16 The book translates *tabot* as 'Ark of the Covenant' and *ṣəlat* as 'Holy Plate'.

17 Munro-Hay (2006: 31–35) opposes such identification, using the term 'confusion'.

18 The book also contains an English translation. However, I find some variation in the terminologies.

19 'A *tabot*—alternatively referred to as a *ṣəllat*, a tablet representing the *ṣəllatä ḥəgg*, the tablet(s) of the Law of Moses—is kept in the altar table or stand called *mänbärä tabot*, in the *mäqdäs*, the sanctuary or Holy of Holies of every Ethiopian church' (Munro-Hay 2006: 28).

20 Cf. Hancock, 1992: 129, 533.

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> *Peka*[21] is white which is marble; As for *Eṗemos*[22] it is like it; *Eṗemedr*[23] is marble which is found in Ethiopia, for it become the Tablet (*Ṣəllat*) which sits upon the Altar.
>
> Text, LUDOLF 1691: 556; translation, mine

The EOTC teaches that both the Ark and the Tablet symbolize the Holy Mother and Christ Jesus respectively (Ermyas Kebede 1997: 51). The Anaphora of Mary says that St. Mary is ጽላት፡ ዘሙሴ፡፡: '[Mary is] the Tablet of Moses'.[24]

By the early 20th cent., a few *tabot* had been acquired by European museums in various ways. According to Heldman (2010: 803), 'these form the basis of the following description of carved designs that typically decorate the recto face of *tabot*, dating from the early 16th cent. to the 18th cent. All *tabotat* are inscribed with the names of the saints to whom they are dedicated. A majority of these wood and stone *tabotat* … are carved with cruciform designs similarly to those of the exterior panels of bilateral pendant diptychs of the same period.[25] … Several early 16th-cent. *tabotat* are carved with a large cross that divides the panel into four parts, following the style of the painted design found on the exterior of a 15th-cent. triptych attributed to Fəre Ṣəyon'.[26]

The *ṣəlle* is square or rectangular in shape, small enough to be carried by a single priest,[27] and often decorated with crosses or interwoven patterns. On religious occasions the *tabot* will be covered in costly cloths and carried around with singing, *šəbšäba* 'rhythmical movement of the clergy' and *č̣əbč̣äba* 'clapping', the beating of prayer sticks, the rattling of sistra, and the sounding of other musical instruments. We read in the Bible (2 Sam. 6) of a similar practice

21 It is 'white marble', derived from Greek *phouka*, transcription of Heb. *pūk* 'black paint' (Leslau 1987: 413).

22 Leslau (1987: 35) explains this term as *'priestly garment made of two pieces joined on the shoulder'*. He also gives the etymology: from Greek *epōmis*, translation of Hebrew: *epōḏ*.

23 This also meant 'marble' (cf. Leslau 1987: 35).

24 Cf. Daoud 1954: 107; Grohmann 1919: 279.

25 See also Grierson 1993: 244, no. 102, fig. 33.

26 Cf. Heldman 1994: 37, fig. 10.

27 This contrasts with the size of the biblical Ark of the Covenant, which was carried by four Levites. Alvares on the other hand, states that four priests carried the *tabot*. His statement which is taken from Beckingham and Huntingford (1961: 323–324) goes as follows: 'The altar stone or stones of all the churches are treated with much reverence on the way, and are carried only by mass priests, and always four priests go with each stone, and four others to take turns with them; they carry these stones as if on a stretcher raised on their shoulders, and covered with rich cloths of brocade and silk'.

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of venerating the Ark.[28] *Mänbär*[29] is the wooden box-like chest where the *tabot* (with the *ṣəlle/ṣəllat*) is kept. As Ludolf said, the *tabot* is placed on the *mänbär* 'seat' or 'throne'. This term, according to Nöldeke (quoted from Ullendorff 1956: 235), is the *minbar* or *mimbar* of the mosque and is an Ethiopic loan-word in Arabic. Underneath, it has a case called *kärsä ḥamär*.[30]

During the liturgy, the *tabot* is placed, always wrapped, on the *mänbärä tabot*. The chalice (blood) and the paten (bread) are then placed on the *tabot*, and the liturgy is celebrated over it. In this way the bread and the wine that represent Christ's flesh and blood are directly connected to Christ, the consecrated *tabot* being linked through the anointing by its bishop or patriarch with the apostle Mark, founder of the See of Alexandria, and disciple of Christ Himself.[31] The ceremony takes place veiled from the view of the people, only the priests and serving deacons being present in the sanctuary.

We can distinguish two types of altars in the EOTC.[32] The first is the Lalibäla type (legged cubic or box-like), clearly labeled on inscribed examples as *tabotat*. They are small enough to be easily portable. These small, cubic, carved wooden *mänbärä tabotat* with legs are quite rare.[33] Munro-Hay (2006: 31) suggests possible reasons why such *mänbärä tabotat* were used: 'Possibly these 'cubic altars' were specifically designed as portable altars, or perhaps they were placed on a larger altar, either as the consecrated *tabot* on which the paten and chalice stood, or to receive a *ṣəllat* for this purpose. Nowadays they have lost their function as altars, and are used as miscellaneous church furniture'. After the

28 Cf. Ullendorff 1968: 93; Pankhurst 1987–1988: 29–30.

29 Also called *Mänbärä tabot* 'altar'. According to Fritsch (2010: 804) '*Mänbärä tabot* is the so-called 'altar chest', which together with *Tabot/Ṣəllat* i.e. the altar tablet, can cover the notion of altar (ምሥዋዕ)'. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 253), on the other hand present the Ethiopic usage as 'The chest in which the slab is kept, known as the *mänbärä Tabot*, would seem to correspond more accurately to an Ark, and the slab itself would be the equivalent of the Tablets'. For a brief historical survey on *Mänbärä tabot*, cf. Fritsch 2010: 804–807.

30 Lit. 'womb of the ship', cf. Fritsch 2010: 805.

31 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 28.

32 Fritsch (2010: 804–806) lists various stages of *mänbärä tabotat* in Ethiopia. He says that the Lalibäla type is in the second stage and preceded by the oldest types of Gundufru Maryam near Aṣbi and in Dəgum; also in East-Təgray churches such as Zarema Giyorgis, Agobo Qirqos, Däbrä Sälam Mika'el. They were small, rather carefully crafted, adorned with carvings and angle ornaments, had four legs ensconced into holes.

33 They are known from Lalibäla, Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos church near Lalibäla, Zoz Amba, a church in Bäläsa, and Maryam Aba'o church near Dära, Təgray, though surely there must be others elsewhere as well (cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 31 and 230, note 3).

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establishment of the Solomonic dynasty in 1270, the following period witnessed a greater variety in *mänbärä tabot* form and decoration.[34] The second type, the usual *mänbärä tabotat* in use today, is much taller and bigger, a sort of stand or cupboard with shelves for storing the *tabot* and various liturgical books and instruments, with pillared and domed canopies on top, and coverings of drapery. This type was usual by Alvares' time in the 1520s, and is still in use. Fritsch (2010: 805) mentions that the *mänbärä tabot* of Gunda Gunde (in the late 15th cent.) preserves paintings. He also remarks that the *mänbärä tabot* of Ašätän Maryam and Guya Abunä Täklä Haymanot are made of wrought iron.

The *mänbärä tabot* is covered with a ceremonial cloth, and its three windows[35] are covered with curtains. The fourth side[36] should be fitted with the picture of **ምስለ፡ ፍቁር፡ ወልዳ፡** '[St. Mary] with Her Beloved Son'.

2 When Did the *Tabot* Originate in EOTC Tradition?

Based on the narration of KN, the EOTC strongly claims that the Ark of the Covenant came to Axum during the time of Mənilək I.[37] After the advent of Christ, the service of the *tabot* continued, but a new form was given to the OT usage of the Ark.[38] Munro-Hay (2006: 47) explains about NT application of *tabot* in Ethiopia that 'The *tabotat* in all the churches of Ethiopia are merely images of this single tablet [*ṣəllatä Muse*] with the difference that *tabotat* are NT versions, created with Christian symbolism'. Ayalew Tamiru (1977/1978 [EC 1970]: 198–199) states what the EOTC believes regarding the use of *tabot* and why the Church maintains it:

> **… ኢትዮጵያ በቀዳማዊ ምኒልክ ዘመነ መንግሥት ለሕገ ልቡና አጋዥ ሕገ መጽሐፍን ለእምነቷ ምስክር ታቦተ ጽዮንን ሕግን የሚያስተምሩ ካህናት ሌዋውያንን አግኝታ በቤተ መንግሥቷ ጎን ቤተ ክህነቷን አቋቁመች። … ጽላትና ወንጌል በአንድነት የእግዚአብሔርን አምልኮት በኢትዮጵያ ቤተ ክርስቲያን ሲመሰክሩ እንዲኖሩ ኢትዮጵያውያን ሊቃውንት በስምምነት አጽንተዋል። ይኸውም በሙሉ ዓለም የነበረችው አንዲት ቤተ ክርስቲያን**

34 Cf. Fritsch 2010: 805.

35 Southern, northern and eastern sides.

36 Western side.

37 The reign of Mənilək I is considered to have been ca. 982–957 BC (cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 232, note 23; Budge 1928: 204). The supposed resting place of the Ark of the Covenant, Axum, however, had not been found in the time of Solomon (cf. Cornuke 2005: 246 and Hancock 1992: 150).

38 Cf. Pedersen 2000: 215.

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ስትሠራበት የነበረ ለመሆኑ በፍትሐ ነገሥት በአንቀጽ ቀዳማዊ ውሳኔ በጉባዔ ጸንቶ ይገኛል። ቤተ ክርስቲያን ተከፍላ ከአንድነት ወደ ሁለትነት ከደረሰችበት ጊዜ ወዲህ ግን አብያተ ክርስቲያናት ጽላትን ትተዋል ይባላል። የኢትዮጵያ ቤተ ክርስቲያን ብቻ የመጀመሪያውን ዓላማ ሳትለውጥ እስከ ዛሬ ትሠራበታለች።

... Ethiopia received the Law of Book for the help of Law of Conscience [lit. heart], Ark of Zion[39] for the testimony of her Faith, [and also] Levite-priests for the teaching of the Law, during the reign of Mənilək I [and] established its house of priesthood beside to its Palace ... Ethiopian scholars confirmed in harmony that the Tablet and the Gospel testify together to the worship of the Lord in the church of Ethiopia. And this was in the One Church, in the whole world; and this is found in the first chapter of *Fətḥa Nägäśt*.[40] However, since the time that the church was divided into two from one, it is said that [other] churches have abandoned the Tablet. Without altering the original objective, only the Ethiopian Church (still) observes it until today.

Translation, mine

Modern scholars hesitate to accept this view. They say 'There is no evidence for the use of *tabot* in Aksumite times' (Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 254).[41] However, evidence does exist, state the above authors, for the use of wooden altar slabs in other Oriental Churches. The description goes as follows:

The Syrian Orthodox and Coptic churches both used wooden altar slabs or portable[42] consecrated altars at an early date. It is still Coptic practice to set a consecrated altar board into the top of the altar. Known as the *maqt*, this is a rectangular panel placed in a special slot on the surface of

39 It is stated that the Ark of the Covenant in the time of Alvares and Emperor Iyasu I had seven bolts (cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 543, Guidi 1961: 151 (*text*), Munro-Hay 2006: 136).

40 *Fətḥa Nägäśt*, 'The Law of the kings' chapter one, about the Church and related matters. The *Fətḥa Nägäśt* comprises 51 chapters divided into two sections: spiritual and secular. The first 22 chapters belong to the spiritual section and the last 29 chapters contain secular matters. Cf. Guidi 1897: 14–16 and Paulos Tzadua 1968.

41 However, on the next page of the same source, the authors assume the probability of such a practice during the Axumite period (cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 255).

42 The Ethiopian *tabots*, on the other hand, are not portable. Of course, the *tabot* is carried on the head during ceremonial processions and hagiographies occasionally mention that monks who founded monasteries had *tabotat* in their baggage.

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> the altar as a substitute reliquary. It is usually decorated with a cross and in the four squares formed by the arms of the cross Greek letters form an abbreviation of the divine name: 'Jesus Christ Son of God'. While it only occupies a small area of the whole surface of the altar, the *maqt* is the most important element. The paten and the chalice will be placed on it when the liturgy is celebrated. If a properly consecrated altar is not available, the *maqt* itself can be used to celebrate the liturgy.
>
> GRIERSON and MUNRO-HAY 1999: 254

According to Munro-Hay (2006: 29), the *tabot* developed out of the Coptic church's use of the altar board called a *maqta* probably in the period of increasing isolation even from Egypt after the consolidation of Islamic states largely cut Ethiopia off from the Christian world. He continues: 'In Egypt, this consecrated board is set into the altar and serves the same purpose as the *tabot*: the chalice and the paten for the wine and bread of the Eucharist are placed upon it. The use of the altar board must have been perfectly acceptable to the Egyptian bishops who succeeded as heads of the church in Ethiopia over the centuries, since they consecrated the *tabotat*'.

Gorgoryos (1998/1999 [EC 1991]: 95) states that other Oriental and Byzantine Orthodox churches have the same tradition of using *tabot* for offering the Holy Communion. Rodinson (1964: 243) in his review of Ullendorff affirms that the Ethiopian *tabot* is similar to that of the Orient, especially the Coptic one. He says: 'The Ethiopian object is strictly analogous to the Christian altar table. This takes forms in the East which, in the Coptic Church in particular, are very close to that of the Ethiopian *tabot*'. Since the EOTC was under the Coptic Patriarchate until 1959 it is obvious that it would share various ritual practices and canons with the Coptic Church. Hence there is no reason to assume that Axumite liturgical practice would have deviated from that of Alexandria.[43]

The *tabot* is popularly envisaged nowadays as a replica or representation of the Ark of the Covenant—or, perhaps, more strictly, of the tablets of the Law—at Axum.[44] This sort of symbolism means that there are many thousands of *tabots*, since every church has at least one. 'The supreme model of the *tabot*' writes Munro-Hay (2006: 29), 'remains the mysterious relic at Aksum, somehow supposed to be both the Ark and the Tablets of the Law. All others are considered to be replicas of this one'. Here it is fitting to quote the concluding sentence of Hancock (1992: 514) as to why Ethiopians make multiple *tabots*:

43 This idea is also substantiated by Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 255).

44 Cf. Brown 1964: 11.

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'For the Ethiopians know that if you want to hide a tree you must place it in a forest. And what else are the replicas that they venerate in twenty thousand[45] churches if not a veritable forest of signs?'

The Ethiopian Church commentary (Tinsae Publishing Agency 2006/2007 [EC 1999]: 153) to the Book of Exodus (chapter 25:9)[46] states how the Lord ordered Moses to make the Ark:

> ወግበር፡ ታቦተ፡ ዘመርጡል፡ እምዕፅ፡ ዘኢይነቅዝ፡ ዘካዕበ፡ እመት፡ ወመንፈቀ፡ እመት፡ ኑኃ፡ /ኑኁ፡/ እመት፡ ወመንፈቀ፡ እመት፡ ራኅባ፡ /ራኅቡ፡/ እመት፡ ወመንፈቀ፡ እመት፡ ቆማ፡ /ቆሙ፡/ ... ክንድ፡ ከስንዝር፡ ቁመታ፤ ክንድ፡ ከስንዝር፡ ወርዷ፤ ሁለት ክንድ፡ ከስንዝር፡ አቆልቋዩዋ፤ የሚሆን፡ ከማይነቅዝ፡ ሽምሸርሰጢን፡ ከሚባል፡ ዕንጨት፡ ቈርጠህ፡ ታቦትን፡ ሥራልኝ፡ አለው። አንድም፡ ዕፀ፡ ዘኢይነቅዝ፡ ይላል፤ ከዚያም፡ ራኅባ፡ ባለው፡ ጽፍሓ፡ /ጽሑፍ፡/ ይላል፤ ሽምሸርሰጢን፡ የሚባል፡ የማይነቅዘውን፡ ዕንጨት፡ ቈርጠህ፡ አቈልቋይዋ፤ ሁለት፡ ክንድ፡ ከስንዝር፤ ወርዷ፡ ክንድ፡ ከስንዝር፤ ቁመታ፡ ክንድ፡ ከስንዝር፡ የሚሆን፡ ታቦትን፡ ሥራልኝ፡ አለው። ዘመርጡል፡ ዘዘመን፡ ዘስምዕ፡ ዘሕግ፡ ዘሥርዓት፡ ዘርስት፡ ዘምዕዋድ፡ ዘዑደት (sic)። ዘመርጡል፡ አላት፡ ሰቀልኛ፡ ናትና፤ ዘዘመን፡ አላት፡ በዘመነ፡ ሙሴ፡ ተሠርታለችና፤ ዘስምዕ፡ አላት፡ አምልኮቱ፡ ይመሰከርባታልና። (sic) ጸንቶባት፡ ይኖራልና፤ ዘሕግ፡ ዘሥርዓት፡ አላት፡ ሕጉ፡ ተነግሮባታል፡ ሥርዓቱ፡ ተፈጽሞባታልና፤ ዘርስት፡ አላት፡ ምድረ፡ ርስት፡ ገብተውባታልና፡ /ምድረ፡ ርስትን፡ ወርሰውባታልና፡/፤ ዘምዕዋድ፡ አላት፡ ከብበዋት፡ ይሠፍራሉና፤ ዘዑደት፡ አላት፡ ይዘዋት፡ ይዞራሉና።

'... And make the Ark of the Tabernacle from acacia wood; two cubits and a half its length, a cubit and a half its breadth, ... a cubit and a half its height; He told him (Moses) 'make me an Ark cutting acacia wood (lit. 'unspoiled wood'), called *Šämšärsäṭin*,[47] its size shall be a cubit and a half its height, a cubit and a half its breadth, two cubits and a half its length'. *Andəm*[48] it says unspoiled wood. Then, it says *ṣəfḥa* (*ṣəfḥu*) instead of

45 The EOTC claims currently there are more than thirty thousand churches and one thousand monasteries in the country.

46 In other versions verse 10 (Exod. 25:10).

47 Also called '*Shittim* wood', an incorruptible acacia (cf. Charles Léon Souvay, 'Ark', in: *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 1913, online edition: http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_%281913%29/Ark 17/01/2015).

48 አንድም፡ *andəm* 'and (there is) one (who says)' is the common terminology for giving alternative views on the same verse/phrase. Some schools of Biblical commentary use ዐ፡ '*bo*' 'there is (also)' to convey the same meaning. The *andəm* contains three strands: the Ge'ez text (*zär* or *nəbab*), its Amharic translation (*zäybe*), and the commentary proper (*tərgʷame* or *ḥatäta*). Böll (1994: 597) suggests a fourth possibility called *məssale* 'example' to the above three strands of *andəmta*. (For a detailed analysis on the subject, cf. Cowley

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> *raḫba*.[49] He said to him that '[After] Cutting the unspoiled wood called *Šämšärsäṭin*, make Me an Ark in the [following] size: her length two cubits and a half, its height a cubit and a half, its breadth a cubit and a half'. [He said] '*zämärṭul* 'of the Tabernacle', *zäzämän* 'of the time', *zäsəmʿ* 'of the testimony', *zäḫəgg* 'of the Law', *zäśərʿat* 'of the Ordinance', *zärəst* 'of the inheritance', *zämaʿwad* 'of the periphery', *zäʿudät* 'of the procession''. He said *zämärṭul* for she is rectangular [in size]; He said *zäzämän* for she is built up in the time of Moses; He said *zäsəmʿ* for His worship will be declared [and] will dwell forever inside her; He said *zäḫəgg*, *zäśərʿat* for His Law is being proclaimed [and] His ordinance is being performed inside her; He said *zärəst* for they entered into the Land of Inheritance through her; He said *zämaʿwad* for they shall settle in encamping her; He said *zäʿudät* for they shall proceed by carrying her'.
>
> Translation, mine

The Ark of the Covenant is expressed by various terms in the Bible: 'The Ark of Testimony' (Exod. 25: 22; 26:33, 30:26), 'The Ark of the Covenant of the Lord' (Num. 10:33; Deut. 10:8), 'The Ark of the Covenant' (Josh. 3:6), 'The Ark of God' (1Sam. 3:3), 'The Ark of the Lord' (1Sam. 4:6).[50] Among these, the expression 'Ark of the Covenant' (abbreviated as AC) has become most familiar in English. The chest was 2.5 cubits in length and 1.5 cubits in breadth and height.[51] There is an allegorical interpretation of the size of the *tabot*, according to the commentary tradition of the EOTC (1932/1933 [EC 1925]: 123–126):[52] 2.5 cubits in length signifies the time from Adam to Noah (2256 years), at the end of which the semblance of the Virgin, the Ark of Noah, appeared; 1.5 cubits in breadth indicates the time from Noah to Moses (1600 years), in whose time the Ark of the Covenant, the image of the Virgin Mary was given; and 1.5 cubits in height

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1983: 3 ff.; Säyfä Śəllase 2007: 174–209; 2011: 13–25; 2011: 27–54). Cowley (1971a: 9–20, here pp. 17–18) lists 13 methods of interpretation used in the *andəmta*.

49 Both words (*ṣəfḥa* and *raḫba*) have the same meaning 'her breadth' (cf. Leslau 1987: 466, 548).

50 Also termed in Ethiopic: ታቦተ፡ ሕግ፡ 'Ark of the Law'.

51 The Bible gives its dimensions in cubits. We do not know exactly how long the cubit used by the Hebrews was. If we use the ancient Egyptian value of 524 mm used in the pyramids, then in modern units the Ark would have been about 130 × 80 × 80 cms, about the size of a modern chest freezer. Peake's Commentary of the Bible (Black and Rowley 1962: 234) suggests its equivalent size in feet: 3¾ by 2¼ by 2¼ feet. Some give the equivalent size of the Ark of the Covenant as 45 × 27 × 27 inches (cf. Cross 2005: 211).

52 Cf. Commentary of ውዳሴ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘሰንበተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ 'Praise of Mary on Sundays'.

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signifies the time from Moses to St. Mary (1600 years), at the end of which the true Ark of the Lord, Virgin Mary, was born.

With regard to the resemblance of the Ark to the Purity of Virgin Mary, *Mäṣḥafä Məsṭir*[53] states:

> እምቅድመ፡ የሀብ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለሙሴ፡ ኦሪተ፡ በጽላተ፡ ሰማይ፡ አዘዞ፡ ለሙሴ፡ ከመ፡ ያስተዳሉ፡ ላቲ፡ ታቦተ፡ ለሙዳያ። ከማሁ፡ አስተዳለዋ፡ ለድንግል፡ ከመ፡ ትኩን፡ ስርጉተ፡ በቅድስና፡ ወበንጽሕ።
>
> The Lord, before giving the Law in the Heavenly Tablet to Moses, commanded Moses to prepare the Ark for Her receptacle. In the same manner, He prepared the Virgin to be adorned in Sanctity and Purity.
>
> Translation, mine

3 The Ethiopian Claim for Possession of the Ark

The account of *Kəbrä Nägäśt* (KN) on the coming of the Ark of the Covenant is the basis of the Ethiopian claim for possession of the Ark. KN states that Mənilək and the young children of Israel duly departed from the Holy Land, but before doing so they are said to have purloined the Ark of the Covenant, which they carried with them to Ethiopia as they 'could not live without it'.[54] Towards the end of KN,[55] the superiority of Ethiopia is stated by the fathers, as well as by Gregory the Illuminator, asserting that the Ark of the Covenant will remain in Ethiopia until the second coming of Christ. KN ch. 113 says that the Ethiopian kings have become glorious and great due to the Ark of Zion, as the kings of Rome became glorious by the nails [of the Cross] that Helena made into a bridle, which is called the vanquisher of the enemy of Rome.[56]

Mary Zion of Axum is unique by virtue of its claim to preserve the original Ark of the Covenant. The annual feast of *Ḫədar* Zion, also called *Däbrä Ṣəyon*,[57] is colorfully celebrated at Axum. According to the teaching of the EOTC, it was on *Ḫədar* 21 that the Ark of the Covenant came to Ethiopia. Numerous pilgrims

53 Edited by Yaqob Beyene 1990: 373.

54 Cf. Pankhurst 1987–1988: 28.

55 KN chs. 113–116. Other Ethiopian illuminated manuscripts also present this tradition. Raineri (2008) presents 66 plates on the Solomon-Sheba legend including the transportation of the AC to Axum.

56 Cf. Bowersock 2008: 383–393; Marrassini 2007: 365; Amsalu Tefera 2009.

57 Fritsch and Zanetti 2003: 671.

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and tourists come and many Ethiopians from the Diaspora attend the feast. The church rituals, the Yaredic hymns (*Maḥlet*) in the newly built Church and Fasil's church, the reading[58] of *Dərsanä Ṣəyon* in front of *Ǝnda Ṣəllat*, and the devotion of the faithful are truly remarkable.

Several researchers from different disciplines dedicated their time to exploring and studying the Ark of the Covenant. The following pages briefly present prominent figures of the last 800 years and their accounts.

1) **Abū Ṣāliḥ** al-Armanī, geographer and writer (13th cent. AD), an Armenian Christian living in Egypt, is the first person to state clearly that the Ark of the Covenant was in Ethiopia.[59] He states:

> The Abyssinians possess the Ark of the Covenant, in which are the two tablets of stone, inscribed by the finger of God with the commandments which [He] ordained for the children of Israel. The Ark of the Covenant is placed upon the altar, but is not so wide as the altar; it is as high as the knee of a man, and is overlaid with gold; and upon its lid there are crosses of gold; and there are five precious stones upon it, one at each of the four corners, and one in the middle. The liturgy is celebrated upon the Ark four times in the year, within the palace of the king; and a canopy is spread over it when it is taken out from [its own] church to the church which is in the palace of the king.[60]

This sounds exactly like the sort of procession still seen regularly at church festivals in Ethiopia today, when the *tabot* is carried out from a church. Munro-Hay (2003: 340), commenting on this claim, remarks that 'No reliable evidence testifies to the existence of this object in Aksumite times and the first mention of a claim to the AC in Ethiopia occurs in Abū Ṣāliḥ's work (in 13th cent.)'.

2) **Francisco Alvares** was the chaplain of the first Portuguese embassy to Ethiopia from 1520–1526. His book, entitled 'The Prester John of the Indies: A True Relation of the Lands of Prester John, being the narrative of the Portuguese

58 For the photo depicting the reading ceremony of DṢ at Axum, cf. figure 5.

59 He adds, however, that it was lodged in the Ethiopian royal city, which was then Adäfa (Lalibäla) in Lasta, not Axum in Tigray (Munro-Hay 2006: 75–76).

60 Evetts 1895: 287, see also Ullendorff 1968: 26; Pankhurst 1987–1988: 29; Hancock 1992: 128. But current researchers doubt the authorship of Abū Ṣāliḥ to the famous description of 'The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring Countries' (cf. Franz-Christoph Muth 2003: 54–55).

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Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520' was translated and edited by Beckingham and Huntingford in two volumes.[61] The book is universally regarded by scholars as being 'of great interest … incomparably detailed [and] a very important source for Ethiopian history'.[62] Alvares describes the old church at Axum with altar stone from Mount Zion.[63] He travelled across Ethiopia, recorded references to the Queen of Sheba as an Ethiopian sovereign, Makədda.[64] He also states the restriction of laymen (both men and women) to the outer part of the church in his time: 'Neither women nor laymen go into the enclosure of this church, and they do not go in to receive the communion …'.[65]

3) **Šihābaddīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdalqādir**, nicknamed **Arab-Faqih**, noted in his book *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*[66] that Emperor Ləbnä Dəngəl marched to Axum with his nobles and troops during the invasion of Ethiopia mounted by Imam Ahmad (Grañ). Then, 'The king [Ləbnä Dəngəl] ordered 'the great idol' to be brought from the church of Axum', says Arab-Faqih. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 283) describe the account: 'It was apparently a white stone encrusted with gold, so large that it could not be carried through the door of the church. A hole the size of the idol had to be opened, and 400 men were needed to carry it. They took 'the idol' to the country of Shire, where it was stored in a fortress'.

4) **Manoel de Almeida** was a Jesuit missionary to Ethiopia in the 17th century. Describing his account, Munro-Hay (2006: 118) says: 'It is now, for the first time that the Jesuits begin specifically to cite the Ethiopian claim for material possession of the Ark of the Covenant'. In a Jesuit annual letter from Ethiopia for March 1626–1627, Manoel records some comments about the Ark in his time. He says:

> A casket that they call *tabot* of Sion [Zion], that is to say Ark of the Covenant brought from Mount Sion; and they are so devoted to this that

61 Alvares' book, first published as *Ho Prester João das Indies*, in Lisbon in 1540, was translated into Spanish as *Historia de las cosas de Ethiopia* in 1557, in Antwerp; another Spanish version appeared in Toledo in 1588, and there was also a Zaragosa edition in 1561. The French version was published in Antwerp in 1558.

62 Beckingham and Huntingford 1958: 11–12, Hancock 1992: 118.

63 Munro-Hay 2006: 267, 102.

64 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 20.

65 Cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1958: 161.

66 Cf. Paulitschke 1898, here pp. 354–355; cf. also Basset 1897.

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> all the altar stones they call *tabot*. And in the principal churches the altars were as all the churches had in ancient times, made in the form of boxes.[67]

This casket, *Tabotä Ṣəyon*, was in Almeida's opinion, the thing from which all other *tabotat* derived their name. He asserts that Emperor Susneyos, at the time of his coronation at this church, was insistent that he be allowed to look inside the *tabot*; but the *dabtara*s did not permit it. Later, some zealous priests, 'obstinate in their errors', seeing that the Catholic faith was gaining, took the *tabot* and other precious things and fled, hiding them until the persecutions passed. The Catholics meanwhile removed the *mänbärä tabot*, the tabernacle of the church, which they sent to the Jesuit centre at Maigoga (Mai G^{w}ag^{w}a) or Fremona ('Adwa) so that it might not be replaced, and installed an altar to their own specifications.

5) **Alfonso Mendes and Balthazar Telles**.[68]—Telles wrote long after the Catholics had been driven from Ethiopia. He cited a note, differing from all previous accounts, written about 1655 by Patriarch Mendes on the theme of the mysterious tablet at Axum. 'For Mendes', states Munro-Hay (2006: 122), 'the sacred relic is not of stone as Alvares and Shihab al-Din had suggested. Nor did the patriarch agree with the accounts of two of his own Jesuit colleagues who had been with him in Ethiopia'.

Telles[69] argues that the Ethiopian Ark was made of wood, not of stone. The following paragraph is cited from the English translation of his book:

> A similar tale, which the Ethiopian historians recount and which is widely believed among them, is that one of the Tablets of the Law is the altar stone of the church of Aksum, which was in the past the capital of Ethiopia

67 Quoted from Munro-Hay 2006: 118. See also Beckingham and Huntingford (1954).

68 Telles was another Portuguese Jesuit ecclesiastic, who had not, however, been in Ethiopia. He wrote a book on *Historia general de Ethiopia a alta*, published in 1660. An English edition followed in 1710 as *The travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, London. However I could not access this book.

69 Hancock (1992: 458) mentions Telles's testimony on the presence of Jews in Ethiopia since early times. Hancock in turn cites S. Mendelssohn and says '"There were always Jews in Ethiopia, from the beginning', wrote the Portuguese Jesuit Balthazar Tellez in the seventeenth century. In this judgement he was, I suspect, far closer to the truth than those modern scholars who ascribe a relatively late date to the arrival of Judaism—and who seem to be completely blind to all the evidence that runs contrary to their own prejudices'.

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> and the Seat of the Patriarchate; they say that even today this persists; and further, that it is a tablet and of a very precious wood. However, if it were one of the Tablets of the Law, which were in the Ark of the Covenant, it could not be of wood, because the Tablets which God gave to Moses, whether the first or the second, were tablets of stone. Hence it is obviously a complete fiction to assert that there were tablets of wood in the Ark and that one of them is in Aksum.[70]

6) **James Bruce.**—In the 1770s, the Scottish traveller James Bruce came to Ethiopia, where he lived for several years, interesting himself in all aspects of Ethiopian life, history and legend. Hancock suggests that the purpose of the coming of Bruce to Ethiopia was no more than a masquerade. Hancock[71] suggests that as a freemason, and therefore member of a body that possessed some of the secrets of the Knights Templar, Bruce's real aim in coming to Ethiopia was to seek out the Ark that the Templars had discovered there during Lalibäla's time. Munro-Hay (2006: 144) argues against Hancock's suggestion and remarks that: 'All in all, the evidence presented to suggest that Bruce was in Ethiopia primarily to observe the Ark is strikingly feeble'. Hancock says that Bruce did not in fact regard the Ethiopian tradition of Mənilək, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba as a 'fabulous legend'. Hancock (1992: 180) states his conclusion on Bruce's travel to Ethiopia: 'To find the source of the Nile did not stand up to close scrutiny and bore all the hallmarks of a 'cover story' intended to veil the real object of his quest. Moreover, his evasiveness on the subject of the Ark itself was most peculiar and really only made sense if he had indeed had a special interest in it—an interest that he had wanted to keep it secret'. Furthermore, Bruce attended the *Ṭəmqät* ceremonials on 18 and 19 January 1770 at Axum and, as Hancock (1992: 238) imagines, he did so in order to get as close as possible to the Ark of the Covenant.

Bruce took back precious Ethiopic manuscripts: two copies of *Kəbrä Nägäśt*, the Book of Henok[72] and two principal documents of Iyasu's life[73] to Europe. Then he gave the manuscripts to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Bruce claimed that when he was in Ethiopia King Täklä Haymanot II (1769–1777) told him concerning the Ark that 'Whatever this might be it was destroyed, with the church itself, by Mahomet (sic) Gragn, though pretended

70 Cited from Munro-Hay 2006: 122.

71 Cf. Hancock 1992: 179.

72 Both items from the imperial repository at Gondär.

73 The full chronicle of Iyasu and the abbreviated one.

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falsely to subsist there still'.[74] The king may perhaps have told him so, but it seems unlikely to have been true.

7) **Yoḥannəs Tovmacean[75] and R.P. Dimotheos**—These two Armenians, who lived a century apart, claim to have actually seen the Ark, or rather the tablet of the Law contained in it. The Armenian merchant Tovmacean saw the relic in 1764, when he went to look at the church in 'Saba', his name for Axum. The following narration by Tovmacean on the great Ethiopian relic is cited from Munro-Hay (2006: 142).

> There was also a large and ancient Abyssinian church where they said a piece of the stone tablet of the Ten Commandments carried by Moses had been preserved, and they took Tovmacean and Bijo (his companion) into the church, and showed him a closed altar said to contain this tablet of the Ten Commandments, but they refrained from opening it. However, on the insistence of Bijo, who claimed that he was a relative of the King, they very hesitatingly obliged. They took out a parcel wrapped in cloth, and began ceremoniously to unwrap it. There was a packet wrapped in another parcel of velvet, and it was not until they had removed a hundred such wrappings that they at last took out a piece of stone with a few incomplete letters on it, and, kneeling, they made the sign of the Cross, and kissed the stone, after which the object was again wrapped up, and put back into the altar which was then closed. This was a great relic—if it was indeed a piece of the tablet of the Ten Commandments which God gave to Moses.

However, Munro-Hay is skeptical about the account of Tovmacean's visit to the original Ark of the Covenant. He says, 'The stone Tovmacean saw could have been a fragment of an old inscription, or possibly an old (broken?) *tabot*, still treated with reverence'.

Dimotheos was a legate from the Armenian Patriarch to Emperor Tewodros. As such, he had heard that there was supposed to be a holy relic of importance

74 Quoted from Munro-Hay 2006: 145.

75 Tovmacean was born in Constantinople in 1717 and was taken by his father to Venice in 1732 and enrolled in the Armenian monastery there. Pankhurst (1982: 79) states about him that he subsequently became a merchant and travelled widely selling jewels. He brought jewels to Ethiopia to sell to the imperial family. Munro-Hay (2006: 141) reports that 'He was discouraged to find that in return for his gifts to the Empress Məntəwwab and her grandson Iyo'as, he got nothing more than some animals and chickens, and a house in the palace compound bare of anything save one small carpet'.

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in the church. He also adds a new twist, that the stone was supposed to be the tablet of the Ten Commandments brought by Mənilək, but that it had also been taken back to Jerusalem to be authenticated by Jesus Himself. His account is quoted from Munro-Hay (2006: 147) as follows:

> In Abyssinia they have very great veneration for a certain tablet in stone, which is called the Tablet of the Ten Commandments, and which the people of the land believe to be the same that the Lord gave to the prophet Moses, which, according to them, was brought there from Jerusalem during the reign of Minilik, first king of Ethiopia. At the time of Jesus Christ, they say a certain individual called Ezekiel, a pious and inspired man, took this Tablet with him to Jerusalem, and presenting himself to Jesus Christ, said to him: 'What is your advice about the divine commandments written on this tablet? Should they be accepted or not?' Then Jesus, without opening His mouth, took the Tablet in His Hands, and wrote on the other side in letters of gold. 'Accept everything which is written here'. Since then this Tablet has been regarded as having been written by God Himself.

Modern scholars tend to be skeptical of this claim as well. Hancock (1992: 124–125) reported the conversation of Sergew Hable Sellasie and Pankhurst as follows: 'What Dimotheos had seen', explained Sergew to Hancock 'is not the original Tabot of Moses'. Sergew continues 'To satisfy his wish the priests showed him a substitute—not the real one … Here in Ethiopia it is normal for each church to have more than one Tabot …' To a similar inquiry of Hancock's, Richard Pankhurst replied 'They wouldn't show such a sacred thing to any outsider. Besides, I have read Dimotheos's book and it's full of mistakes and misapprehensions'.

8) **Gerhard Rohlfs**—In 1881, the German envoy Rohlfs questioned the *nəburä əd* of Axum about the Ark, and whether it had been left undamaged by the Muslims' onslaught when the church was burnt in the 1530s. Rohlfs was assured that it was still in the church; not an ordinary copy, such as one could find in the Holy of Holies, but built into the church wall and accessible only by means of a secret door. Neither the clergy, Emperor, *Ǝṭčäge* nor even the *abun* could see it; they would not be able to bear the sight of it. Only the guardian and his successors were permitted to see it: 'So it [is] as thousands of years ago', declared the *nəburä əd* 'and so will it be until the last days'.[76]

76 Cf. Rohlfs 1883, Munro-Hay 2006: 150.

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9) In 1700, **C.J. Poncet**,[77] physician (for a time) to Iyasu I, passed through Axum in transit to Gondär. He described the church of Maryam Ṣəyon briefly, but provided no useful information about it.

10) **Theodore Vestal**—A recent claim of seeing the 'Ark' is given by Vestal.[78] He was an Armenian, working in Ethiopia in 1965. While in Axum, he paid a visit to the church of Maryam Ṣəyon. While standing outside the church, without any request from him, he was brought a fair-sized (estimated ca. 60 cm. long × 45 cm. wide × 35 cm. tall), dark-coloured, wooden chest. The priests explained to him that it was the Ark of the Covenant. However, what he was shown may have been a normal *tabot*.

11) **Graham Hancock** has exerted much effort to determine the fate of the Ark. His voluminous and well-known book *The Sign and the Seal* has greatly popularized the Ethiopian claim. Munro-Hay (2006: 157) states: 'Graham Hancock's popularisation of Aksum and its church has encouraged more visitors, some specifically intent on asking awkward questions about the Ark of the Covenant'. Cornuke (2005: 224) speaking of the indifference of the Axumite monks also comments on Hancock as follows:

> Their indifference is limitless. I think they hope that the world doesn't believe them because they want to be left alone. But westerners want answers. We want proof, and we demand an accounting for their claim that they have the Ark. They never promoted the idea in the first place; Graham Hancock and I, as well as many other people, have done that.

Hancock went extensively to Ethiopia in quest of the Ark of the Covenant. He interviewed the guardian of the Ark and other church officials about the presence of the AC in Axum. He also travelled to Ṭana Qirqos Monastery and Lake Zəway Däbrä Ṣəyon monastery. He recorded and discussed all the responses related to the AC in his book.

His book commences with an interview he had with the then-guardian of the Ark of the Covenant, *abba* Gäbrä Mika'el, at Axum. He asked: 'I have heard of an Ethiopian tradition that the Ark of the Covenant is kept here … in this chapel. I have also heard that you are the guardian of the Ark. Are these things

77 Quoted in William Foster 1949.

78 Personal interview of Munro-Hay with Theodore Vestal at the XIII International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, held at Kyoto, Japan, 1997 (cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 150).

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true?' The monk said 'They are true'. Hancock was not satisfied with such a short answer and added: 'But in other countries nobody believes these stories. Few knew about your traditions anyway, but those who do say that they are false'. Then the guardian responded to him: 'People may believe what they wish. People may say what they wish. Nevertheless we do possess the sacred Tabot, that is to say the Ark of the Covenant, and I am its guardian'. The guardian monk then related a similar story to that of KN and said that the Ark was brought by King Mənilək I directly to Axum. 'Are you telling me that this legend is literally true?' asked Hancock. 'It is not a legend. It is history' the monk replied. 'How can you be so sure of that?' asked Hancock again. Finally the monk responded 'Because I am the guardian. I know the nature of the object that has been placed in my care'. For Hancock, the dialogue was bizarre and difficult to accept.[79]

After intensive reading, discussion with different authorities and research, Hancock revisited Axum, intending to meet the *nəburä əd* to get permission to see the Ark. But he was told that the *nəburä əd* was out of Axum for administrative reasons. So he was unable to see the Ark. The deputy head of the Cathedral was not in a position to grant his request.[80]

While doing his research in Ethiopia in the 1980s, Hancock went to Ṭana Qirqos with Prof. Pankhurst and found strange archaic traditions. He is certain that the Ark of the Covenant had first been brought there before being taken to Axum.[81] He had a discussion with Mhr. Fəśśəḥa, a senior monk in the monastery. The monk replied to Hancock's question as to how the Ark of the Covenant had come to be in this island monastery. He says: 'The Ark was here. But it is not here any longer. It has been taken to Axum'. Hancock asked the monk for further explanation: 'Then back to Axum! When? When did they take it?' Mhr. Fəśśəḥa then said: 'The Ark was taken to Axum one thousand and six hundred years ago, in the time of 'Ezana. It was not taken back. It was simply taken there, and it has stayed there ever since'. He summarized Ṭana's tradition that the Ark was brought by Menelik I and his companions. But they did not bring it directly to Ethiopia. Instead they went to Egypt. Then they followed the Nile and afterwards its tributary Täkkäze until they reached Ethiopia. In this way they came to Ṭana, to its eastern shore, and they chose this island, now called Ṭana Qirqos, as the resting place for the Ark. The Ark, according to Ṭana

79 Cf. Hancock 1992: 3–6.

80 Cf. Hancock 1992: 510–512.

81 Cf. Hancock 1992: 211 ff., 235.

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tradition, stayed there for eight hundred years.[82] But it has never come back to that island, says Mhr. Fəśśəḥa. Hancock (1992: 216) also noted that there is still a large bowl called Gomer found in Ṭana Qirqos, in which the sacrificial blood was first collected.

In Zəway Hancock met *abba* Gäbrä Krəstos, a senior monk, and inquired 'How was the Ark of the Covenant abducted by Mənilək to Ethiopia?' The monk replied with the story in the KN. Hancock (1992: 227–228) then asked how the Ark was brought to Zəway which is geographically very far from Axum. Then the monk replied 'At the time of Gudit the Ark was brought here from Axum … Gudit was a devil. She burned many churches in Təgray and in other regions of Ethiopia. It was a time of great fighting, great danger. Our forefathers were very much afraid that she would capture the Ark. So they brought it out of Axum and they carried it to Zwai where they knew that it would be safe. They travelled only by night, hiding by day in forests and in caves. They were very much afraid, I tell you! But in this way they evaded her soldiers and they brought the Ark to Zwai and to this island'. The monk also said that the Ark remained at Zəway for seventy-two years and then was returned to Axum.

12) **Robert Cornuke**, the American explorer and legend chaser, has published a book *Relic Quest*. He applies various means and tries to study about the Ark of the Covenant. His views and assumptions are similar to those of Graham Hancock's, though the approach is different. He acknowledges the work of Hancock as follows:

> Hancock's six hundred-page book traces the Ark of the Covenant from Solomon's Temple to Ethiopia. The Ethiopians claim that they still have it. The book's numbing details make it hard to read, but the author's unique investigative journalism pulled me along, and I came to appreciate his exhaustive work.
>
> CORNUKE 2005: 145

'Could the Ark of the Covenant actually be in modern Ethiopia?' Cornuke asks, and continues:

82 Hancock (1992: 214) calculated the supposed date of the coming of the Ark to Ṭana as follows: if the Ark stayed at Ṭana for 800 years and if it was moved to Axum during the time of 'Ezana ca. 330 AD, then the Ark was brought to Ethiopia, Ṭana Qirqos in BC 470.

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> At first I dismissed the idea, yet as I waded deeper into *The Sign and the Seal*, my investigative mind softened to the amazing ideas Hancock proposed. A body of historical evidence emerged from his years of relentless research in Ethiopia, which seemed to cut a swath through layers of muddled traditions. His arguments gave some historical credibility to the idea that the holy box is in Ethiopia today.[83]

In most cases, Cornuke drew his deductions in support of the Biblical analysis. In this case, he differs from Hancock, as he himself asserts: 'Hancock is a noted journalist and investigator but he is far from being a biblical scholar' (Cornuke 2005: 144). Cornuke is convinced that the last known reference to the Ark's presence in the Temple was during Hezekiah's reign. He asserts his views: 'The Bible doesn't explicitly say that the Ark was in the Temple. Hezekiah went up to the Temple and prayed this prayer before the Lord: 'O Lord, God of Israel, you are enthroned between the mighty Cherubim! You alone are God of all the kingdoms of the earth''.[84] He continues, because the Bible declares that 'the Lord dwells between the Cherubim', and Hezekiah was praying to the Lord, whose manifested presence appeared above the Ark, it can be deduced that the Ark was then residing in the Temple (around 701 BC). However, the Ark was missing from the Temple prior to Josiah's reign.[85] We know this because Josiah spoke to his priests and said, 'Put the Holy Ark in the house which Solomon the son of David, king of Israel, built. It shall no longer be a burden on your shoulders. Now serve the Lord your God and His people Israel'.[86] Regarding the time of disappearance of AC from the Temple, Cornuke says: 'It is clear that only two Kings reigned between Hezekiah and Josiah: viz: Manasseh (687–642 BC) and Amon (642–640 BC)'.[87]

Cornuke traveled to Jerusalem, Cairo and Ethiopia (Axum and Ṭana Qirqos thrice).[88] In Jerusalem he asked the *Fälaša* priests, who told him the story of the AC journey: 'For two hundred years, the Ark was in Egypt before continuing south to T'ana Kirkos Island. After another eight hundred years, the Ark was

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83 Cornuke 2005: 145.

84 2 Kings 19:15.

85 Similarly DṢ [§§ 112–113] affirms the presence of the Ark of the Covenant in Jerusalem until the destruction of the first Temple. According to the text the AC was concealed when the Chaldeans came bent on destruction.

86 2 Chron. 35:3.

87 Cornuke 2005: 199.

88 First in 1998, then in 2000 and finally in 2001. He also went to *Daga Ǝsṭifanos* (founded by *abba* Hirutä Amlak in EC 1268) on his second trip (cf. Cornuke 2005: 208 f.).

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moved from T'ana Kirkos to Aksum by the Ethiopian king 'Ezana, and it remains there to this day'.[89] Then he met the Jewish social anthropologist, Dr. Shalva Weil at the Research Institute for Innovation and Education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Weil describes 'The Ethiopian *Fälaša* Jews as modern descendants of OT Hebrews who travelled to Egypt centuries ago. After settling in Egypt for a time, they made their way south through Nubia (southern Egypt and northern Sudan) and eventually occupied northern Ethiopia'. When Cornuke asked her about the possibility that the Ark of the Covenant was taken by these Jews and was now resting at the chapel at Axum, she smiled, drew a deep breath, and said 'There is a very strong conviction that the Ethiopian Christians possess the Ark'.[90]

Cornuke (2005: 202) analyzes the Biblical account in Chronicles[91] and considers the narrations of the Egyptian Pharaoh Neco which relates that the Ark was moved to Egypt. The verse 'The God of Israel is with me …' gives a clue for the removal of the Ark to Egypt before the time of Josiah. It is possible to assume that during Josiah's reign, the Ark and the Mercy Seat were in Neco's care. Subsequently Cornuke went to Cairo to search the AC and reached at the Elephantine Island in Egypt. He met Atif Hanna, of the Institute of Cairo Coptic Studies, and asked Hanna whether the AC came to Egypt or not. Then he explained to him:

> The Ark of the Covenant moved from Jerusalem at the time of King Manasseh and came to Elephantine Island. Yes, the Ark of the Covenant remained here for some time at the Jewish Temple. In the third century before Christ, some of the Jewish Community moved south to Abyssinia or Ethiopia, and the Ark of the Covenant is, until now, in that area.[92]

The Elephantine Hebrews clearly thought that YHWH resided physically in their temple. A number of Papyri speak of YHWH as 'dwelling' there.[93] *Jerusalem Report* (May 21, 1992) also asserts the presence of the Ark at Aswan. Cornuke (2005: 204) affirms that 'And if such a temple was built to house the Ark, it helped to explain the Ark's disappearance from Jerusalem in the early-to-mid-600s BC and why it didn't arrive in Ethiopia until approximately 470 BC'. One

89 Cf. Cornuke 2005: 197.

90 Cornuke 2005: 197.

91 Cf. 2 Chron. 35:20–27.

92 Cited from Cornuke 2005: 203–204.

93 Cf. Porten 1968: 109, 152.

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can assume differently, but Cornuke (2005: 204–205) imagines 'Had the Levites taken the Ark to Elephantine Island and placed it in a replica temple built especially to house it? And when Egyptian goodwill crumbled two hundred years later, did they then proceed south to Ethiopia and hide the Ark on T'ana Kirkos?'.

Cornuke is strongly convinced of the removal of the Ark from Jerusalem (6th–7th century BC). His research and analysis leads him to suppose the Ark first was housed in Elephantine in the Jewish temple there. Hanna confirms the existence of the Jewish temple in Elephantine. He says: 'In 525 BC, a Persian king invaded Egypt and destroyed many Egyptian temples, but he did not touch a stone on the Jewish temple at Elephantine. The invader's name was Cambyses, and his father was Cyrus the Great, the king who ordered that building begin on the Second Temple in Jerusalem. The Ark was never mentioned in the Bible again, because it came here to the Jewish temple at Elephantine'.[94] He also explains how this temple was built. The Jewish refugees constructed a temple whose dimensions and appearance—exterior pillars, gateways of stone, roof of cedar wood—were modeled precisely after Solomon's Temple. 'Papyrus records indicate that the Hebrews performed ritual animal sacrifices at the Elephantine temple just as in Jerusalem, including the all-important sacrifice of a lamb during Passover' adds Dr. Hanna. The Elephantine temple of YHWH was destroyed in 410 BC, within sixty years of the date that legend says the Ark arrived in Ethiopia (around 470 BC). Hence Cornuke traveled extensively to Axum and Ṭana in pursuit of the Ark tradition. We will examine his account in two parts.

12.1) Axum Zion: Cornuke went to Axum twice in the hope of seeing the Ark with his own eyes. However, he was not allowed. Instead he proceeded with his quest by means of interviews and in-depth discussion with the concerned bodies. In his first visit, when he interviewed the *nəburä əd* of Axum, he got the reply 'We are entrusted with guarding the Ark of the Covenant. It is our sacred mission to conceal its powers and protect its holiness'.

In his second visit he met a man named Haile, who was curator of the Museum of Axum. Haile promised him that he could enter to St. Mary's chapel and obtain a detailed description of the various objects in the treasury there.[95] A year later, in his third trip to Axum, Cornuke also met Haile at Yeha Hotel. After greetings, Haile pulled him aside and whispered, 'I have seen it. I have

94 Quoted from Cornuke 2005: 205.

95 Cornuke 2005: 207–208.

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seen the Ark'. This was good news for Cornuke, though he was reluctant to believe it for the moment. He raised different questions to Haile as to how he could enter to the chapel and see the Ark. The following narration is abridged from their discussion.[96]

Haile stated that he was accompanied by two monks. He described the Ark, its general size and appearance, closely matching the biblical description of a wooden box, covered with gold, its shape and dimensions well within known specifications. Cornuke asked Haile about the real presence of the Cherubim and he states 'The angels [Cherubim] had the faces of men, with their bodies stationed over the Ark'. Cornuke was very eager and asked 'What did the wings look like, Haile?' Then Haile began sketching on note pad the angels facing each other. They appeared with heads bowed, facing the top of the gold box. Haile then drew wings that resembled feathery arms, reverently extended to overshadow the Ark. Cornuke, with his friend, David Halbrook, asked him: 'Haile are you sure this is what the wings looked like?' 'Yes', he answered. Then without prompting, he added, 'As you can see, the wings could be where someone might sit. The mercy seat is a type of chair'.

Haile also said that he and the two monks had entered the church of the Ark for the official task of cataloguing some of the thousands of historical books, crosses, crowns, paintings, and manuscripts stored in the chapel's treasury basement. He explained that they had entered into the Most Holy Place, where in the darkness they could barely see a large stone chamber sitting on top of a stone pedestal, like a mausoleum vault, approximately five feet long and four feet high. The top of the structure was gabled, like the roof of a house. Then Halbrook asked Haile: 'Where was the Guardian? Isn't he the only one who ever sees the holy relic? How did you and these monks get past the guardian into the inner sanctum?' He responded with authority: 'We are allowed because of my appointment as a government official of the museum. Once a year I am obliged to inventory all the items in the church treasury'. 'Okay, Haile', sighed Cornuke and asked 'Once you entered the inner sanctuary, what did you do? What happened?' he replied 'It was very dark. One of the monks and I walked over and began to open up the stone vault housing the Ark. It was very heavy and hard to move. Once we slid it from its position, we noticed that there was a silver box inside, an ornate hand-engraved lining that surrounded and protected the Ark. We saw the Ark then … and then we must have fallen down, for when I opened my eyes, we all lay on the floor. We lay there, unable to move.

96 Cf. Cornuke 2005: 217–224.

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We had to be carried out by some monks'. This is Haile's account of what they had seen inside *Ǝnda Ṣəllat*.[97]

12.2) Ṭana Qirqos:[98] Visiting Ṭana, Cornuke became confident that the Ark had come to Ethiopia through Tanis, in Egypt, then following the Nile reached Ṭana and stayed there for eight hundred years before it was moved to Axum. He says that Judaism was practiced at the island monastery. He discusses important Judaic sacrificial materials, which signify that Ṭana Qirqos was the safe haven of the AC. He saw the following sacrifice elements:[99]

Blood Altar—He says 'in both shape and size, the columns resembled the stone masseboth set up on high places in the earliest phases of the Hebrew religion. These ritual altars had served for sacrificial offering ceremonies much as Abba described'. He inquired of the monk, 'Where did the Ark sit?' The monk replied to him, 'The Ark sat here, on this ledge, so that the blood could also be sprinkled on the Tabernacle at the time of the sacrifice. This tradition has passed through the centuries'.

The socket hole—Cornuke also saw the socket hole for pitching and erecting the Tabernacle. He states that, 'It was hidden beneath centuries of decayed organic matter, where workers could have anchored a tent pole … This is the place where the Tabernacle of the Ark had once stood'.

Gomer—According to the tradition of Ṭana, the ancient Hebrews who brought the Ark to the Lake called it a 'Gomer', a large basin, broad and shallow, approximately two feet wide and no more than a couple of inches deep. 'They used it', he mentions, 'up on the cliffs to collect the blood used in the ritual sacrifices. The priest would stir the blood in the basin to keep it from getting thick'.

Metal stand—The monk told Cornuke that there had once been a sturdy stand to hold the bronze bowl but had long since collapsed from metal fatigue and extreme age. It was used to scatter blood. It was an instrument for blood sacrifice.

Meat Forks and Almond Buds—This object, asserts Cornuke, is another Hebrew sacrificial implement used to burn sacrifices over ritual fires. He attempts to correlate it with the OT description on the subject: 'Heavily rusted and showing signs of wear similar to the basin and stand, the implement's long

97 Cornuke continues questioning Haile. The whole story is included in his book (2005: 220–221).

98 Cornuke (2005: 173) says that he had a better chance to visit Ṭana Qirqos and he discusses the account in much better detail than Graham Hancock did.

99 Cf. Cornuke 2005: 185–191.

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double prongs met at a horizontal bridge at the top, crowned by the image of a budding almond flower, based on Ex. 25:33–36, 37: 19–22'.

Cornuke, based on what he was told by the monks and having seen the materials with his own eyes, became convinced of the truth of the Ṭana tradition. He remarks on the vessels:

> These implements possibly shared a Hebrew origin, and the monks on T'ana Kirkos had neither the resources nor the technology to forge metal. Someone had obviously brought them here … Each of these vessels and components appeared much like those described in Scripture; each made an arguable case for T'ana Kirkos as an ancient Hebrew haven; and each suggested at least the possibility that this might have been a resting place for the Ark of the Covenant.[100]

13) **Helmut Ziegbert**—A German Archaeological team led by Ziegbert announced in 2008 that the Altar of the Ark of the Covenant and Palace of Queen of Sheba is discovered after nine years of excavation and research. The news is reported on May 7, 2008.[101]

14) **Giuseppe Claudio Infranca**—Unlike the above explorers of the Ark and visitors to Axum, the Italian architect, Prof. Infranca,[102] claims to have entered the Sanctuary of Axum and seen the Ark of the Covenant with his own eyes. He also took a picture of the Ark. His assignment as an architect to renovate the church enabled him to establish a good rapport with the priests, allegedly giving him the chance to see the Ark. Moreover, he argues that the AC is situated in the old (Fasil's) church, but not in the new chapel. This was aired on Italian TV—*Canale* 5, dated 19th April, 2010.[103] The following explanation is from Prof. Infranca:

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100 Cf. Cornuke, 2005: 190, 192.

101 Cf. [http://www.ethiopianreporter.com/news] (18/05/2008); [http://www.addisadmass.com/news] (11/05/2008); [http://www.ethioblog/news] (08/05/2008); [http://www.bloomberg.com:Germany] (08/05/2008).

102 Three Italian Professors were in Axum since 1991 for research. Their names and titles are: **Vincenzo Francaviglia**, direttore del CNR per le tecnologie applicate ai Beni culturali, **Giuseppe Claudio Infranca** dell'Università di Reggio Calabria e architetto **Paolo Alberto Rossi** del Politecnico di Milano. Prof. **Infranca** has written a book on the Ark of the Covenant entitled *'L'Arca dell'Alleanza*: *il Tabernacolo di Dio'*, but I was unable to get a copy.

103 I have received a copy of the film 'TG5 speciale', recorded and donated by W/o Hanna, from Bari, Italy, May 2010.

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> … Ma un giovane chierico aprì la tenda e noi potemmo vedere una cassa di legno scuro, lunga un metro e alta sessanta centimetri, con il tetto a doppio spiovente … 'But a certain young man opened the curtain, and we could see a dark wooden box, one meter long and 60 cm high with a round roof'.
>
> Translation, mine

Infranca proposes that the route the Ark took to Axum was through Palmyra (Syria), Gulf of Aqaba and the Red Sea. This goes against Graham Hancock's[104] and Robert Cornuke's[105] proposals. Infranca's account of the visit of the AC, however, seems improbable. What he might have seen in Fasil's Sanctuary is the normal *mänbärä tabot*, which anyone could see during the church service.[106]

15) **The Patriarch and the President of Ethiopia**—The Church of St. Mary Zion at Axum allegedly houses the original Ark of the Covenant. It is supposed to be the safe sanctuary for the AC, chosen by God as the 'New Jerusalem'. For this reason, the former Patriarch of the EOTC, His Holiness *abunä* Ṗawlos, remarks that '… Ethiopia might be poor, at least as the West would see it, but its people had laid up treasures of a spiritual kind that the West would need'.[107] In an interview with BBC-2, filmed in 1999, the journalist asks the Patriarch: 'Could the existence of the Ark of the Covenant in Axum be proven?' Then, the Patriarch responds: 'No, faith does not go well with scientific proof. We do not doubt it, that it is here, in our place. We don't have to prove it to anyone. You want to believe, it is your privilege. If you do not want to believe, it's your own privilege again … It is here and we believe it'.[108] In 2009, *abunä* Ṗawlos gave a press release about the actual presence of the Ark of the Covenant at Axum (in which he also mentions that he himself had seen the Ark with his own eyes), dated June 26, 2009, Rome.[109]

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104 Jerusalem → Elephantine (Egypt) → Meroe (Sudan) → Ṭana Qirqos → Axum.

105 Jerusalem → Tanis (Egypt) → Ṭana Qirqos → Axum.

106 I, the researcher, for instance, attended the Holy Mass in the church on Dec. 4, 2010, Saturday morning, and could see the *mänbärä tabot*, though from the *Qəddəst* (not inside the Holy of Holies). Unlike other churches of the EOTC, the curtain of the sanctuary is kept closed during the entire Mass except at the time of Holy Communion, for a few seconds only. My informant, Mhr. Solomon, explained me that it is opened during the night service for the prayer of incense. (Interviewed on 04/12/2010).

107 Quoted from Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 349.

108 Quoted from Munro-Hay 2006: 39.

109 Cf. [http://forum.panorama.it/f31/larca-dellalleanza-in-italia-non-si-sa-mai-niente-come

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Robert Cornuke and his team, at the final phase of their research, were welcomed by the then Ethiopian president Dr. Negaso Gidada at the National Palace. He asked the president about the presence of AC at Axum. Cornuke introduced himself to the president: 'Mr. President, my name is Bob Cornuke. I have spent the past seven years researching the Ark of the Covenant in Aksum'. At the mention of the Ark, the president's eyes lit up and he said: 'Ah, have you had the opportunity to meet the Guardian of the Ark?' 'Yes, sir', Cornuke replied. 'I have met with the Guardian'. He continued 'Mr. President, forgive me for being so bold, but may I ask—do you believe that the Ark lies in Aksum?' The president nodded and smiled. 'I know it is—or should I say, I believe it is'. He continued 'How would you know that?' The president smiled and replied: 'I have ways of knowing. After all, I am the President'. Cornuke took this comment home to the United States.[110] He presents the Ethiopian claim of the presence of the Ark of the Covenant as follows:

> Ethiopians claim this humble structure holds the greatest secret in history. From the lowest peasant to the highest public official, all Ethiopians insist that the Ark of the Covenant rests securely within Saint Mary of Zion's fortified inner sanctum. No one else on earth makes such a claim.[111]

4 Wanderings of the Ark in Ethiopia

We read in the Bible[112] of wanderings, capture, exile and miracles in Israel connected with the Ark of the Covenant. KN plainly says that the ultimate voyage of the Ark was during the time of Solomon, brought from Jerusalem to Ethiopia by Mənilək I. This was the will of God in substituting the 'old' Israel by the 'new'. Hence, the Ark of the Covenant went from her 'original' home-Jerusalem to her 'new' home—*Däbrä Makədda*, i.e. Axum.[113]

-mai-t14070/] (27/06/2009); [http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Abune_Paulos] (17/01/2015).

110 Cf. Cornuke 2005: 224–226.

111 Cited in Cornuke 2005: 152.

112 Cf. Josh. chapters 3–8; Judges 20:27–28; 1Sam. chapters 3–7; 2Sam. chapters 6–7 and 15; 2Kings chapters 2–3, 6:19, 8:1–21; 1Chron. chapters 13, 15–17, 22:19, 28:2 and 18; 2Chron. chapters 1:4, 5:2 and 7, 6:11 and 41, 8:11, 35:3.

113 KN ch. 84 says that *Däbrä Makədda*, which is named after the name of the queen, is the city of the government. About the travel of the AC, cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 177–180, Amsalu Tefera 2011a: 48–51.

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According to oral tradition, there were three additional occasions involving a flight of the Ark of the Covenant in Ethiopia: i) it was kept at *Yəḥa* for a certain period before it was taken to Axum; ii) the flight to *Zəway* Island to escape the persecution by Gudit; and iii) the flight to *Ṭana* (some say to *Tabr*) during the time of Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508–1540) to escape Imam Aḥmäd's persecution.[114] But we do not have authoritative corroborative evidence for these traditions. There are four Ethiopic texts which preserve the Zion cycles.[115] The texts are:

1. *Kəbrä Nägäśt* 'Dignity of Kings'—edited by Bezold 1905;
2. *Tä'ammərä Maryam* 'Miracle of Mary'—Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project 601, a 20th cent. manuscript that contains 377 miracles, amongst 19 are devoted to the cycles of Zion, recently cataloged by Melaku et al. 2011;
3. Miracle of Mary stated in *Dərsanä Ṣəyon*—EMML 8823 (ff. 20^{r}–30^{r}). It states the travel of the Ark from Jerusalem to Axum through Mənilək I, and how Mənilək built the first temple at Axum and why *Ḫədar* 21 is colorfully celebrated at Axum;
4. *Liber Axumae* 'Book of Axum', edited and translated by Conti Rossini 1909–1910.

These texts focus on the transportation of the Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem to *Däbrä Makədda* and the flight of the Ark to different parts of Ethiopia to help Ethiopian kings to expand their territories and to escape persecution in different times.

114 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 177.

115 'Cycles of Zion' refers to the transportation of the Ark of the Covenant from the 'old' Jerusalem to the 'new' and its wanderings in Ethiopia. Cf. Amsalu Tefera, 'Cycles of Zion in Ethiopic Texts' (forthcoming).

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CHAPTER 2

Traditions on Zion and Axum

Dərsanä Ṣəyon (DṢ) is a text which contains various matters. As a *Dərsan*, it basically glorifies and presents exegesis on the Ark of the Covenant. There are also some topics which the text deals with directly and there are a few subjects which are discussed in relation with DṢ for wider perspectives. Different traditions on 'Zion' exist in Ethiopian textual traditions, how royal coronation took place at Axum and list of Ethiopian monarchs who reigned in front of the Ark of Zion. With the regard to these, the important text known as *Liber Axumae* will be discussed in this chapter.

1 Zion

The term ጽዮን፡ ('Zion') is a Semitic word.[1] Roberts (1973: 329–344) narrates the Davidic origin of Zion and he argues the tradition of Zion was established during the time of David but not in pre-Israel cult.[2] It is associated with different toponyms, including Mount Sinai.[3] The Lord ordered Moses to ascend the Mount, and then He gave him the two Tablets.[4] It was there that Moses delivered the Ark of the Covenant. The following *Tä'ammərä Ṣəyon* of DṢ (EMML 8823)[5] states the fact as follows:

> ስምዑ፡ እነግረክሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ጥንተ፡ ሙላዳ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ፀወንነ፡ አመ፡ ጸመ፡ ሙሴ፡ ኀ፡ መዓልተ፡ ወኀ፡ ሌሊተ፡ በደብረ፡ ሲና። ወሀቦ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጽላት፡ (sic) ዘዕብን፡ ዘበውስቴታ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ዓሠርቱ፡ ቃላት፡

1 Cf. Dillmann 1865: 1300, Leslau 1987: 566. Its ultimate etymology, however, is uncertain. For a brief note on this subject, cf. Kaplan 2014: 189–191.

2 Maier 2008: 1–2 gives the distinction between Zion and Jerusalem and says that sometimes Zion denotes the space of the temple precinct, often called *Mount Zion*, while Jerusalem mainly refers to the city as a political entity. 'In recent analysis', Maier quotes Corinna Körting, 'the meaning of Zion and Jerusalem are distinctive although they sometimes overlap'. Maier also writes that Jerusalem is mentioned 660 times in the Hebrew Bible, whereas the name Zion is used only in poetic texts and occurs 154 times.

3 Also called Mt. Horeb (Deut. 4:10, 5:2). Mt. Sinai is the place where Lord God bestowed His Law to His people through Moses (Exod. 19:16). For a general survey and various arguments on the location of Mount Sinai, cf. Cornuke 2005: 23–80.

4 Exod. 19:2–25.

5 EMML 8823 is described in the next chapter and abbreviated as [F].

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> Listen, I will tell you O! Christian People. The beginning of the generation of Zion, our shelter, [is] at the time when Moses was fasting for forty days and forty nights on Mount of Sinai. The Lord gave him a Tablet of stone inside which the Ten Words are inscribed.
>
> F. 20va

When we talk about the Ark of the Covenant, indeed, we have to begin from Sinai for it is a place of immense importance.[6] There we can find the bush, the flame, the Tablets, Moses and Lord God. For this reason, it is full of allegories. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 263–264) summarize the Ethiopian commentary tradition as follows:

> Moses saw Mary at Mount Sinai in the tree that burned without being consumed by fire. The tree was Mary, who carried the fire of Divinity within her body and was not burned by heat. When God gave Moses the Tablet of the Law on which the Ten Commandments were written, and told him to make a golden Ark in which he could place the Tablet, the Ark was the image of Mary, and the Tablet the image of her womb. The Ten Commandments written on the tablets were the image of her Son, who is the Word of the Father.

St. Mary, according to the above allegory, is foreshadowed in the Old Testament. She is called the True Zion. Munro-Hay (2006: 47), after collecting the tradition at Axum on Zion, states 'Zion represents many things, according to the *dabtarat* and priests of Aksum—St. Mary, shelter, the land of Ethiopia, the land of King David'. We can add some more representations as well.

1.1 *Various Applications of Zion*

The word Zion occurs over 150 times in the Bible. The following notes list the different meanings given to the term Zion in the Bible and in the Ethiopian context.

6 Yet there is no history of Jewish devotion to the site. It was never a goal of pilgrimage, and the Bible contains no indication that it was ever part of Israelite cult. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 13) add the following: 'The fire and cloud from which God appears on Sinai remain the signs of his presence, but the mountain itself survives as little more than a memory of the wanderings in the wilderness. When God chooses a holy mountain, it is Zion rather than Sinai'.

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1) **The hill** where King David founded his city Jerusalem[7] (ca. 1000 BC) is known as Zion. Originally Zion was the name of the ancient Jebusite fortress in the city of Jerusalem. Then King David captured the fortress and made it his city. Hence the Holy Bible calls Zion 'the city of David'.[8]

David brought the Ark of the Covenant to this new city from Qiryat Ye'arim,[9] built and installed in a new tabernacle and fortified the city.[10] Later, his son and successor Solomon expanded the city and built the Temple.[11] The site of the original repository of the Ark of the Covenant, and in the view of most present-day scholars of the temple, the hill of Zion became the centre of the political and cultural life of the ancient Hebrews. Scholars propose different suggestions on the location of the hill. Some said it is in the south-western part of Jerusalem, others in the north-western and still others claim it is in the north-eastern. Paton (1907: 327–333) states various arguments on the location and he claims that Zion is the name of the entire eastern ridge. The Bible calls the hill or the Mount 'Holy Hill of Zion' (Ps. 2:6); the 'Mountain of His Holiness' (Ps. 48:1); 'the place of the name of the Lord of hosts' (Isa. 18:7); 'the city of the Lord' and 'Zion the Holy one of Israel' (Isa. 60:14); 'my Holy Mountain' (Joel 2:1); 'Zion—the Temple hill' (Josephus, quoted in Paton 1907: 331). On the other hand, **ደብረ፡ ጽዮን፡** 'Mount Zion' is one of the central elements in the Ethiopian version of the millenarian doctrine.[12]

Zion, as the holy mountain of God, refers also to St. Mary, for she is also considered the 'True Mountain of God',[13] and His eternal house. He has chosen to live there where the Ark and the Temple stand. The classic proclamation in which the Davidic Covenant is inextricably bound together is Psalm 132.[14]

---

7 The Holy City is called **ኢየሩሳሌም፡** (Geʿez), *yerûšālaim* (Heb.), *Al Quds* (Arb.).

8 Cf. 1 Kings 8:1; 1 Chron. 11:5; 2 Chron. 5:2.

9 West of Jerusalem and a holy place of the time.

10 David reigned forty years: at Hebron he reigned over Judah seven years and six months; and at Jerusalem he reigned over all Israel and Judah thirty-three years (cf. 2 Sam. 5:4–5).

11 The Temple of Solomon (ca. 980 BC) was destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 BC.

12 Cf. Getatchew 2005a: 43–44.

13 Also in St. Ephraim's Mariology: **ውእቱኪ፡ ዘወረደ፡ ኀቤኪ፡ ኦ፡ ደብር፡ ነባቢት፡ በትሕትና፡** 'As for Him who, descended to you, O Mount who speaks in modesty' (*Praise of Mary*, 'of Tuesday').

14 **እስመ፡ ኀረያ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለጽዮን። ወአብደራ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩኖ፡ ማኅደሮ። ዛቲ፡ ይእቲ፡ ምዕራፍየ፡ ለዓለም።** 'For God has chosen Zion and He desired Her to be His dwelling. 'She is My resting place forever'' (Ps. 132:13).

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2) **Whole of Jerusalem**—The whole of Jerusalem and Palestine are designated Zion, 'Daughter of Zion' referred to the Jewish people.[15] Paton (1907: 331) lists a number of biblical passages on Zion and daughters of Zion indicating the whole of Jerusalem. Some are: Ps. 9:14; Isa. 1:27; 3:16; 10:24; 29:8; 33:5; Jer. 4:31; Lam. 1:6; 2:1, 8, 18; 4:22; Joel 2:23; Zech. 9:13, etc.[16] After the fall of Judea, Zion became the symbol of the hope that the Jewish homeland in Palestine eventually would be restored.

3) The **Heavenly Jerusalem**—In the New Testament 'Zion' denotes the Heavenly city and God's spiritual kingdom: 'You have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem' (Heb. 12:22; cf. Rev. 14:1). In Christian theology Christ is considered as the Cornerstone of Zion.[17]

4) St. **Mary**—The frequent application of the term 'Zion' in the Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwaḥədo* Church[18] is to St. Mary,[19] the Mother of God.[20] KN ch. 1[21] gives Her the title **ዳግማዊት፡ ጽዮን፡** 'the Second Zion' and Her Son Jesus **ዳግማዊ፡ አዳም፡** 'the Second Adam'. The Ark of the Covenant that contained the Law was seen as a forerunner of the Ark that held the New Law in the person of Christ. The Ethiopic Book of *Qälemənṭos* says:

> **ወጽዮንሂ፡ አምሳለ፡ እምየ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ እንተ፡ በውስቴታ፡ ያነብሩ፡ ቃለ፡ አብ፡ ወፈነወኒ፡ ኀቤሃ፡ ለድንግል፡ እምየ፡ ወለበሥኩ፡ ሥጋ፡ እምኔሃ፡ በውስቴታ፡ አነ፡ ውእቱ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን።**
>
> And as for Zion She is the likeness of My Mother the Virgin Saint, inside whom they will put the Word of the Father; and He sent Me to the Virgin, My Mother and I was made flesh from Her. I am the Church inside Her.
>
> Text, BAUSI 1992, f. 72$^{rb–c}$; translation, mine

15 Cf. Maier 2008.

16 See also Mtt. 21:5 and Jn. 12:15 from the NT.

17 Cf. 1Pet. 2:6; cf. also Isa. 28:16.

18 Also in the rest of Christendom.

19 Ark and Mary are synonymous in DṢ.

20 According to Ps. 87:5: 'And of Zion it shall be said, 'This one and that one were born in her' for the Most High Himself will establish her'. The Geʿez version has a different connotation: **እምነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ይብል፡ ሰብእ። ወብእሲ፡ ተወልደ፡ ውስቴታ። ወውእቱ፡ ልዑል፡ ሣረራ።** It implies that Zion Mary is the bearer of Lord Jesus Christ. Cf. Geʿez commentary of Psalms (published by Täsfa 1989/1990 [EC 1982]: 431–432).

21 Cf. Bezold 1905: 1–2; Budge 1922: 2.

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The Heavenly Zion and the True Ark of the Lord are the epithets given to St. Mary in DṢ and KN. The Prayer of commencement[22] presents Mary as the True Zion. The text goes:

> በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አሐዱ፡ አምላክ፡ በቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ፡ እንዘ፡ አአምን፡ ወእትመሐፀን፡ እክሕደከ፡ ሰይጣን፡ በቅድመ፡ ዛቲ፡ እምየ፡ ቅድስት፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ስምዕየ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም።
>
> In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, One God. I believe in and beseech the Holy Trinity, I deny the Devil, before my mother the holy Church, Mary Zion, who is my testimony forever and ever.
>
> Translation, mine

According to the teaching of the EOTC, God gave Mary to Moses as the Tablet of the Covenant and called Her 'Zion'. She is the savior of Israel, greater than all the prophets, apostles, saints, and martyrs. She has the covenant of Mercy, which is the greatest of all covenants. Regarding Her purity, Mary is called 'the second Tabernacle' and 'the Holy of Holies' in which the Ark of the Covenant had been placed.[23] Kefyalew Merahi (1997: 10–11) in like manner identifies Zion with St. Mary. He says: 'Zion means the house of God. In the Old Testament, Zion was the city of King David, which was mount Zion. And it was the symbol of our Lady Mary and its second meaning is the house of God (church)'.

St. Mary, in Christian theology, is equated to the New Covenant. Just as the New Covenant surpasses the Old, so the new Ark of the Covenant (St. Mary) is superior to the old. The old Ark contained the word of God written on stone tablets, but the new Ark contained the Incarnate Word of God.[24]

There are several direct parallels between the Old Testament accounts of the Ark and the account of Mary in the Gospel of Luke:

– 1. The words of Exod. 40:34–38, referring to the cloud of the Lord's presence 'covering' the tent of the Ark, are echoed in Gabriel's words to Mary in Lk 1:35: '… The power of the Most High will cover you with its shadow'.
– 2. David greets the Ark in fearful awe with the words 'How shall the ark of the Lord come to me?' (2 Sam. 6:9); Elizabeth greets Mary with the words, 'Who am I that the mother of my Lord should come to me?' (Lk. 1:43).

---

22 Known as **አአትብ፡ ገጽየ፡ ወኵለንታየ፡ በትእምርተ፡ መስቀል።** 'I bless my face and all my whole body with a sign of the Cross'.

23 Cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 263.

24 Cf. [http://www.answers.com/topic/typology-theology] 17/01/2015.

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– 3. In 2 Sam. 6:10–12 the Ark is sent to the hill country of Judea and stays at the household of Obededom for three months; similarly, Mary journeys to Elizabeth's house and stays there three months (Lk. 1:56).
– 4. Just as David danced in the presence of the Ark (2 Sam. 6:14), the babe in Elizabeth's womb (John the Baptist) dances for Mary's womb (Lord Jesus) (Lk. 1:41).

Additionally, in Revelation, St. John, immediately after seeing the Ark in heaven, sees the woman 'clothed with the sun' who bears the Child who will rule the world (Rev. 11:19–12:5).

This teaching is found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church. A sermon attributed to St. Athanasius[25] addresses the Blessed Virgin thus: 'O Ark of the new covenant, clad on all sides with purity in place of gold; the one in whom is found the golden vase with its true manna that is the flesh in which lies the God-head'. St. Gregory Thaumaturgus writes: 'Let us chant the melody that has been taught us by the inspired harp of David, and say, 'Arise, O Lord, into thy rest; thou, and the ark of thy sanctuary'. For the Holy Virgin is in truth an ark, wrought with gold both within and without, that has received the whole treasury of the sanctuary'.[26] Moreover, the feast of the Ark of the Covenant held on *Ḫədar* 21 shows that St. Mary is the True Ark, which substitutes for the Old Ark of the Covenant. Ermyas Kebede (2004/2005 [EC 1997]: 364) points out:

> **ኅዳር ጽዮን ተብላ በኅዳር ፳፩ ቀን መከበርዋ እውነተኛዋ ታቦተ ጽዮን እርሷ ቅድስት ድንግል ማርያም መኾኗን ለማመልከት ብቻ ሳይሆን አማናዊቷ ቤተ መቅደስም እርሷው መኾኗን አረጋግጦ ለማሳመን ነው።**
>
> The reason behind her celebration on *Ḫədar* 21 [Nov. 30] as Ḫədar Ṣəyon is not only to show that She, the Holy Virgin Mary, is the True Ark of Zion; but also to confirm and approve that She is the True Sanctuary.
>
> Translation, mine

If one asks why *Ḫədar* 21 is colourfully celebrated at Axum, according to MS [F][27] (f. 24^{r}), there are two reasons: the first is the restoration of the Ark to its tent from captivity among the Philistines; and the other is commemoration of

25 Homily on the Annunciation to the Holy Virgin Mary.
26 Cf. *Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, where one of the titles by which Mary is addressed is 'Ark of the Covenant' ([http://www.answers.com/topic/typology-theology] 17/01/2015).
27 I.e. EMML 8823.

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the time that the Ark came to the land of Axum. The text states the situation as follows:

> ወበዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለኀዳር፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ተመይጦታ፡ እምኀበ፡ ፄወውዋ፡ ኀበ፡ ቤታ። ወዳግም፡ ምጽአታ፡ ኀበ፡ ምድረ፡ አክሱም። ወበእንተዝ፡ ያብዕሉ፡ ላቲ፡ በዓለ፡ ዓቢየ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለለወርኁ። ወፈድፋደሰ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለኀዳር። ወነበረት፡ ህየ፡ በሕገ፡ ኦሪት፡ እስከ፡ ይትወለድ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ እምቅድስት፡ ድንግል። ወሶበ፡ ተወልደሂ፡ ብዙኃ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ምስለ፡ ካህናቲሃ፡ ነበሩ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ያእምሩ፡ ልደቶ፡ ለክርስቶስ።
>
> In this day, 21st of *Ḫədar*, it was her first return from captivity to her home; and it is her second coming to the land of Axum. Therefore, [it is praiseworthy] to celebrate the great feast to Her every 21st day of the month, exceedingly on *Ḫədar* 21. She lived in the [order of] Law until Christ was born of the Holy Virgin. When He was born, they [Ethiopians?] were living with her priests without knowing the birth of Christ.

5) **The Christian Empire of Ethiopia**—The Ethiopian Church clearly links Axum and Ethiopia to Zion. 'Ethiopians have traditionally referred to their country as 'Second Zion'', remarks Ullendorff (1989: preface), and continues: '… and to themselves as the heirs of Jerusalem and ancient Israel'. Paulos (1988: 11) also notes that 'Axum is considered a holy place and second Jerusalem'. Due to the glory of Axum, which in turn emanated from the greatness of Zion, the Kingdom of Ethiopia is called the 'Kingdom of Zion'. *Mäṣḥafä Axum* (hence MA)[28] confirms this:

> በእንተ፡ ዕበያሰ፡ ወፍድፋዴ፡ ክብራ፡ ይሰመዩ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ ነገሥታት፡ ነገሥተ፡ አክሱም፡ ወጳጳሳትሂ፡ እለ፡ ወጽኡ፡ እምግብጽ፡ ይሰመዩ፡ ጳጳሳተ፡ አክሱም።
>
> Due to its greatness and exceeding glory all kings will be named 'Kings of Axum' and as for the bishops who came [lit. 'went out'] from Egypt, they will [also] be called 'Bishops of Axum'.
>
> Text, CONTI ROSSINI 1909b: 72; translation, mine

In the royal chronicles, Zion is meant the Christian Empire of Ethiopia. Taddesse (1972: 249–250) states: 'Ṣiyon, a term figuratively applied to St. Mary, is also used in reference to the kingdom as a symbol of the special identity of Christian Ethiopia, surrounded by a hostile Muslim and pagan world in north-

28 For brief discussion on MA cf. pp. 79–80 of this book.

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east Africa'. He continues 'As the repository of the Ark of the Covenant, also called Ṣiyon, the ancient city of Aksum was the focal point of this tradition and its tribal ramification'.

The first application of the term[29] to a regnal name is Yagba Ṣəyon (1285–1294),[30] while the second and the famous king, who attached Zion to his name is ʿAmdä Ṣəyon (1314–1344).[31] In the chronicle of ʿAmdä Ṣəyon,[32] Zion is called 'the spouse of heaven'.[33] But the most substantial evidence of the Solomonid fascination with Zion, and with the complex associations of Axum, the Ark of the Covenant, Solomonid descent, and the Virgin Mary, can be found a century after ʿAmdä Ṣəyon, during the reign of Zär'a Yaʿəqob.[34] Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 223) say:

> At this time 'Zion' was employed as a name for the kingdom, and the expression 'Church of Zion' was included among the honorifics of the king in the *Mamluk* chancellery records. The designation might refer to the Ethiopian kingdom in general.

Munro-Hay (2006: 168), similarly says ''Seyon' may be the term which was used to denote the Habesha Kingdom, the phrase 'church of Seyon' is included among the king's titles by Mamluk officials in Egypt'. *Liber Axumae* also calls the kings of Ethiopia the 'kings of Zion'. The text reads:

---

29 Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 260) say that the use of Zion as a regnal name was not clearly known by the Zagʷe Kings, but that it became clear after the establishment of the Solomonid kingdom. (See also Munro-Hay 2006: 14.)

30 Cf. Taye 1921/1922 [EC 1914]: 60, Ḫəruy 1928/1929 [EC 1921]: 61, Heldman 1993a: 72, Nosnitsin 2014.

31 Heldman (1993a: 72) records other names attached with Zion (in medieval times) as 'One of the wives of the emperor Dawit was named Seyon Mogasa (grace of Zion); the most gifted of all Ethiopian painters took the name Fere Seyon (Fruit of Zion) when he became a monk; and several holymen of the monastery of St. Stephen at Hayq were named Gabra Seyon (Servant of Zion)'. A complete and exhaustive list of Ethiopian Kings is still wanting. The first European to publish lists of the Ethiopian kings was Balthasar Telles (17 cent. AD) and the next was James Bruce. Henry Salt (1809–1810) also compiled a list, which is almost the same as Bruce (cf. Budge 1928: 204–205). See now Bausi 2014.

32 For the edited chronicle, cf. Marrassini 1993; also Kropp 1994 and Huntingford 1965

33 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 47, 233 note 31.

34 Zär'a Yaʿəqob went to Axum Zion for coronation, 'for the greatness of Zion'. King Dawit, the father of Zär'a Yaʿəqob, was himself devoted to St. Mary. But the son was still more devoted and decreed issue that 'Every church was required to have a *tabot* dedicated to Mary, and the people were required to prostrate themselves whenever her name was mentioned' (cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay, 1999: 261–262).

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ፈጸመ፡ ሕገ፡ ወሐደሰ፡ መንበረ፡ መንግሥቶሙ፡ ለነገሥተ፡ ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ ኵሎን፡ አህጉር። ትምክሕተ፡ ኵሉ፡ ዓለም። ወትርሲቶሙ፡ ለነገሥት።

[Emperor Ṣärṣä Dəngəl] Completed the law and renewed the throne of State of the Kings of Zion [which is] the mother of all countries, pride of all the world and adornment of kings.

Text, CONTI ROSSINI 1909b: 67; Translation, mine

Fiaccadori (2007: 1164) asserts that the head of the Solomonid state became first and foremost *nəgusä Ṣəyon*, as is evident, for example in the coronation rituals, with all relevant symbolic implications for the Ethiopian monarchy.

6) **Axum Zion Church**[35]—The Ark of the Covenant, as KN states, rests at Maryam Ṣəyon Chapel, according to the EOTC. By the transfer of this object from Jerusalem to Axum, the transfer of royalty from Israel to Ethiopia, instituted by God, was affirmed, and by the Ark's physical presence at Axum the primacy of the Ethiopian sovereign over the other kings of the earth was established for all to understand.[36] The Chapel of the Ark is also called *ʾInda Ṣəllat* 'House of the Tablet' and *ʾInda* Maryam, 'the House of Mary'. It is located approximately in the centre of the city, at a distance of about four km from the main hills.[37]

According to Alvares:[38] 'In this town of Aquaxumo [Axum], where she [Queen Candace] became Christian she built a very noble church, the first there was in Ethiopia: it is named St. Mary of Syon [sic]'. As Munro-Hay puts it 'Alvares actually discusses the name of the church, and the attribution to Zion'. Axum is considered as the 'Origin' for Law and Church orders. See the following quotation from *Gädlä Libanos zä-Mäṭa*':

ወዘንቱኒ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይመስለክሙ፡ ሐሰተ፡ ሀለወ፡ ታሪክ፡ በእክሱም፡ በከመ፡ ተብህለ፡ ሕግ፡ ዘወጽአ፡ እምጽዮን[39]፡ ወቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምኢየሩሳሌም።

35 It is clear that the Israelites are people of the Old Covenant, while the Christians belong to the New Covenant. This is explained in Ethiopic terms: እስራኤል፡ ዘሥጋ፡ 'Israelites of the flesh', እስራኤል፡ ዘነፍስ፡ 'Israelites of the Spirit', i.e. 'Christians' particularly Ethiopians, for the claim that they possess the Ark of the Covenant. Hence Axum is referred to as the 'New Zion' and the Ark is named ታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ 'Ark of Zion' and ጽላተ፡ ሙሴ፡ 'Tablet of Moses'.

36 Cf. Marrassini 2007: 364; Conti Rossini 1909b: 95.

37 Cf. Fattovich 2003: 180.

38 Cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 151.

39 Basically a Biblical quotation 'For out of Zion shall go forth the law' (cf. Isa. 2:3); here Zion

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> And this does not seem you false [that] there is story at Axum that says 'the Law which comes out of Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem'.
>
> Text, BAUSI 2003: 61; translation, mine

In like manner, it is mentioned in the chronicle of Iyasu I:

> **ወእምዝ፡ መከረ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ከመ፡ ይሑር፡ ብሔረ፡ አክሱም፡ ወይብጻሕ፡ ህየ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩ ለጎዳር፡ ዘይትገበር፡ ቦቱ፡ በዓለ፡ ጽዮን፡ ከመ፡ ይፈጽም፡ ሕገ፡ መንግሥት፡ በልማደ፡ ነገሥት፡ አበዊሁ፡ ዘነበሩ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ እንዘ፡ ይፈጽሙ፡ ህየ፡ ሕገ፡ መንግሥት፡ እስመ፡ ይእቲ፡ መካነ፡ ጽዮን። ዘእምኔሃ፡ ይወጽእ፡ ሕግ። ወበከመ፡ ተብህለ፡ እስመ፡ ሕግ፡ ይወጽእ፡ እምጽዮን፡ ወቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምኢየሩሳሌም።**
>
> And after this, the King decided to go to the land of Axum, and to reach there on 21st of *Ḫədar*, when the feast of Zion is held, in order to fulfill the royal law, [as] in the custom of his royal fathers who lived before [him], that they would fulfill that [same] royal law for this is the land of Zion. The law comes out of her. And as it is said 'For out of Zion shall come forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem'.
>
> Text, GUIDI 1960–1961: vol. 1: 11; translation, mine

MA describes 'Our Mother Ṣəyon, the *gäbäz* of Axum' in technical terms: depth of foundations, thickness of walls, heights of vaults, number of columns, shutters, 'wheels' (round headed windows?), arches, 3,815 'monkey heads', 91 gargoyles.[40] This suggests that the church resembled the classic 'monkey-head style' of building seen also on the Axumite Stelae.

As the repository of the Ark of the Covenant, Axum Zion[41] is called **ርእሰ፡ አድባራት፡ ወገዳማት፡** 'Head of Churches and Monasteries'. The administrator is given the title **ንቡረ፡ እድ፡** *nəburä əd*, lit. 'consecrated'. Leslau (1987: 384) defines

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signifies Axum. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 279) say that 'The Bible tells us that the Law comes out of Zion. Therefore, the only law comes out of Aksum'. Similarly, Munro-Hay (2006: 47) remarks that '… And Zion is now at Aksum, in the chapel of the Tablet of Moses'.

40 Conti Rossini 1909b: 7.

41 The term Zion, in some cases, does not imply always the Ark of the Covenant at Axum, but also any other church/*tabot*, notes Munro-Hay (2006: 82, 93, 167–168). The '*tabot* of Ṣəyon', and the church of Däbrä Ṣəyon, attributed to Zagʷe times by the 15th cent. AD *Gädlä Näʾakkʷəto-Läʾab*, offers more encouraging evidence. The title **ቁስ፡ ገበዝ፡ ጽዮን፡** [sic] '*qaysa gabaz Seyon*', in copies of Lalibäla's land grants, confirms the authentic use of 'Ṣəyon' in Ethiopian records from Zagʷe times (Munro-Hay 2006: 167, 184).

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the office as: 'By the hands being placed on the head'. According to Hyatt (1928: 51) the *nəburä əd* is the person who is third in ecclesiastical importance and can be described as chief administrator. The origin of this office is unknown. Nosnitsin (2007: 1161) relates the origin to *abunä* Yaʿəqob. His statement goes as follows:

> According to both the early 16th cent. version of the Acts of *abunä* Täklä Haymanot and the monastic genealogies the title was established by the 14th cent. *abunä* Yaʿəqob who sent twelve *mämhəran*, including their head *abunä* Filəṗos of Šäwa as missionaries to southern Ethiopia, to found new monasteries and evangelize the local population. Since Yaʿəqob could not consecrate them bishops, he made them *nəburanä əd*.

Nosnitsin also writes that the office of *nəburä əd* in Axum seems to be ancient. The famous *Nəburä əd* of Axum, whom KN cites as its translator, is *nəburä əd* Yəsḥaq (ca. AD 1321). Bruce (1790: 476) reports that the office of *Nəburä əd* in Axum belongs to the descendants of Azaria, who came to Ethiopia with Mənilək I.

In earlier times,[42] the *Nəburä əd* exercised extensive powers, controlling vast estates of fiefs and possessing great privileges in the court. He was allowed to sit in the presence of the emperor, while almost everyone else was forced to

42 The title *Nəburä əd* also meant 'civil governor of Axum'. Because of the historical and symbolic importance of this city, the rules of precedence promulgated in 1689 (by Iyasu the Great, and confirmed in 1724 by Bäkaffa) ranked the *Nəburä əd* ahead of all of the provincial governors (cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 560). Although a civil title granted by the Emperor, it was usually bestowed on a clergyman due to Axum's status as the holiest site of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church within the country. *Däğğazmač* Gäbrä Śəllase, *Ras* Śəyum, *Däğğazmač* Gərmay, *Šumtänben* Gäbrä Mädḫən, for instance, were appointed as the 76th, 77th, 78th, and 79th (respectively) *Nəburanä əd* of Axum (cf. Girma Elyas 1998/1999 [EC 1991]: 90). Local tradition, on the other hand, lists 63 *Nəburanä əd* of Axum from the 15th cent. until EC 1967 (cf. also Sergew 1989, vol. 5:31). Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 281) state that the title was also given to abbots of other monasteries: 'During the early years of the Solomonid dynasty, there were many of them in Ethiopia, especially as the abbots of great monasteries'. For instance *abba* Ephraim was appointed as *Nəburä əd* of *Mädära* and Tänśəʾa Mädḫən was *Nəburä əd* of *Bänkol* (cf. Conti Rossini, 1909b: 32, 38; 1910: 38, 45). Giyorgis of Sägla was appointed by *aṣe* Dawit II as *Nəburä əd* of Däbrä Dammo (Taddesse 1972: 223; Nosnitsin 2007: 1161). The title is also given to the administrator of Addis Alem St. Mary's Church, instituted by Emperor Mənilək II (cf. Ullendorff 1960: 109). Formerly the title was also given to abbots of Ṭana Qirqos. For a detailed discussion of the topic, cf. Nosnitsin (2007: 1161–1162).

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stand.[43] He could be a monk or a priest. The guardian of the Ark,[44] on the other hand, is solely a monk. The guardian is named: **ዐቀብተ፡ ገበዝ፡** 'guardian [lit. 'guardians'] of the Church'; **ዕቃ፡ ቤት፡** lit. 'store house'; **አጣኝ፡** 'the one who burns incense'; **ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡** 'guardian of the house'. MA, for instance, mentions **ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጽንዓ፡ ማርያም፡** 'guardian of the house Ṣənʿa Maryam' during the reign of Emperor Bäʾədä Maryam; **ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጽንዕነ፡ ማርያም፡** 'guardian of the house Ṣənʿənä Maryam' and **ቤት፡ ጠባቂ፡ ጌታ፡ ይስሐቅ፡** 'guardian of the house Geta Yəsḥaq' during the time of Ləbnä Dəngəl.[45] Through the ages, the guardian devotes his whole life to the AC in worshipful solitude inside **እንዳ፡ ጽላት፡** 'House of the Tablet'. He never leaves the small fenced chapel of St. Mary of Zion Church until he is carried away for his funeral. Cornuke (2005: 152, 157) adds 'He would die having already spoken the name of the next Guardian'. Then he will be succeeded by another monk who is appointed by the special council of Axum under the chairmanship of the *qesä gäbäz* or provost.[46] From time to time a nominee for the guardianship might be reluctant to take up the heavy task and would even flee to the mountains. If so, monks would be sent after him. They brought him back; but sometimes he would again attempt to escape. He might have to be chained at the chapel for many months before he fully accepted his responsibility.[47]

The designation 'cathedral' was used for the St. Mary of Zion church particularly in the 20th century to magnify its importance. Because Frumentius, the first bishop was titled 'bishop of the Axumites' and his successors were called 'metropolitans of Axum', we may assume that their Episcopal seat would indeed have been at the chief church there. But in later days, Axum lost its place as the Episcopal seat.[48] Regarding the foundation of the Axumite church on the tomb of Ityoṗis the grandson of Noah, Beckingham and Huntingford (1961: 521) say:

43 Cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 281.

44 For a detailed account on the guardian of the Ark, see Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 275–277; Munro-Hay 2006: 101.

45 Cf. Conti Rossini 1909b: 28, 32, 33, 35–38, 41.

46 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 42–47.

47 Cf. Hancock 1992: 498–499. Mhr. Solomon, my informant in both trips to Axum (Sep. 2008 and Dec. 2010), also confirmed this fact.

48 First at Adäfa/Lalibäla dwelling in tents; later at Gondär the bishops dwelt in the Abun Bet, suburb of the capital. After the foundation of Addis Ababa as the capital of the country, it became the seat of the bishops and is currently the residence of the Patriarch. In remembering the importance of Axum, the Holy Synod of the EOTC decided in EC 1989 (AD 1996/1997) to add an epithet **ሊቀ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ዘአክሱም፡** 'Archbishop of Axum' to the Patriarch, His Holiness *Abunä* Ṗawlos. Church Law of EOTC (1998/1999 [EC 1991]: 9), article 14, sub

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This is the beginning of the foundation of Our Mother Ṣəyon the Cathedral of Aksum. First, it was built at Mäzbər[49] where is the tomb of Ityopis son of Kuesa[50] son of Kam, and it remained there for a long time.

MA also asserts:

ከመዝአ፡ ጥንተ፡ ሡራሬሃ፡ ለእምነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ገበዘ፡ አክሱም። ቀዲሙ፡ ተሣረረት፡ በመዝብር፡ ኀበ፡ ሀሎ፡ መቃብሪሁ፡ ለኢትዮጲስ፡ ወልደ፡ ኵሳ፡ ወልደ፡ ካም። ... ወካዕበ፡ ሀሎ፡ መቃብሪሁ፡ ለኢትዮጲስ፡ አቡሆሙ፡ ለኢትዮጵያዊያን [sic]**፡ ወልደ፡ ወልዱ፡ ለካም፡ ዘስማ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ኀበ፡ መዝብር፡ ምድረ፡ መላኬ፡ አክሱም።**

Original foundation of our mother Zion, the Cathedral of Axum, is like this: first it was founded on Mäzbər where was the tomb of Ityoṗis, the son of Kusa, the son of Kam ... And again there is the tomb of Ityoṗis, father of the Ethiopians the son of Kam's son, whose name is 'Ethiopia' in Mäzbər, the land of the governor of Axum.

Text, CONTI ROSSINI 1909b: 3, 6; translation, mine[51]

Similarly Aklilu (1977/1978 [EC 1970]: 188) remarks:

የኢትዮጵያ ትውልድ ከነገደ ካምና ሴም የተያያዘ ነው። ካም ኩሽን ኩሽ ኢትዮጲስን ወለደ። በኢትዮጲስ ኢትዮጵያ ተባለች። የታቦተ ጽዮንም ምኩራብ መጀመሪያ በኢትዮጲስ መቃብር ላይ ተሠራ። በዘመነ አበው በዘመነ መሳፍንት፤ በዘመነ ነገሥትና በዘመነ ካህናት የሥልጣኔ ሥራቱና ምልክቱ በጀመሪያ የተገለጠ በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ነው።

The genesis of Ethiopia is connected to the tribes of Kam and Sem. Kam begat Cush, Cush begat Ityoṗis.[52] [The country] was named Ethiopia after

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article 1, proclaims that the Patriarch of Ethiopia shall be given the title **ብፁዕ፡ ወቅዱስ፡ አቡነ፡ እገሌ፡ ፓትርያርክ፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ፡ ወእጨጌ፡ ዘመንበረ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት።** 'His Holiness *Abunä* so and so Patriarch of Ethiopia and *Ǝčäge* of the See of Täklä Haymanot'. This epithet **ወእጨጌ፡ ዘመንበረ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡** *'Ǝčäge* of the See of Täklä Haymanot', was already in use by the first Ethiopian Patriarch, His Holiness the late *Abunä* Basläyos (1959). The *Ǝčäge* was influential in the former Ethiopian government (cf. Hyatt 1928: 50–51). For the power of the *Ǝčäge* prior to 1950, cf. Brown 1964: 10.

49 *Mäzbər* 'ruin'.

50 Cush, the son of Ham (cf. Gen. 10:6).

51 Monneret de Villard (1938: 7) repeats the tradition, referring to KN.

52 *Ityoṗis* is not mentioned in Genesis: 'The sons of Cush: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabteca' (Gen. 10:7).

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> Ityoṗis. And the synagogue of the Ark of Ṣəyon was first built on the tomb of Ityoṗis. In the time of the Fathers, Judges, Kings and Priests the order and sign of civilization was first revealed in Ethiopia.
>
> Translation, mine

MA and the tradition say that the first Christian church at Axum was built by the twin brothers Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa ca. AD 330. Alvares[53] mentions this church: '… A very noble church, the first there was in Ethiopia: it is named St. Mary of Seyon'. Beckingham and Huntingford (1961: 151–152) note that this church was very large; it had five aisles of good width and great length, vaulted above, and all painted. Below, the Body of the church is well worked with handsome cut stone; it has seven chapels, all with their altars well ornamented. It has a choir after our fashion, except that it is low, and they reach the vaulted roof with their heads; and the choir is also over the vault, and they do not use it.

The *Maryam Ṣəyon* church has been associated with the 6th-century church of the Apostles on Mount Zion. Getatchew Haile (2007: 810) describes how Mary is equated with Zion: 'In as much as Zion is the image of the Church and the dwelling of God, Mary is the image of the Church of Zion and of Jerusalem as well'. Heldman (1993b: 118–119) presents the traditional claim about the foundation of the Cathedral, that the Axumite church is modeled after that of Jerusalem. According to Munro-Hay (2006: 160), most probably the church was built at the Axumite capital long after the conversion of King 'Ezana. He quotes the Roman church chronicler Rufinus about the labors of Frumentius: 'Christian peoples and churches have been created in the parts of India [Ethiopia], and the priesthood has begun'.

The Church is said to have been destroyed by Yodit Gudit. Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase (1928/1929 [EC 1921]: 46) transmits the tradition that she had two names: Yodit and Aster. Due to her cruel deeds and destruction the people changed the name Yodit to *Gudit* 'blemish' and Aster into *Ǝsato* 'fire'.[54] She was the wife of the governor of the district of Bugna. Gädlä Eläyas[55] states her that she was the queen of Sayənt.[56] Tradition says that Yodit was a Jewess, but this is not verified. Budge (1928) asserts that she was certainly no Christian, but a pagan

53 Cited in Beckingham and Huntingford (1961: 151).

54 Getatchew (2009a: 132) says that the name *Ǝsato* could have come from Ǝslantäne, the name tradition gives to the mother of Motäläme of Damot.

55 Published by Getatchew (2011).

56 Getatchew 2011: 113 (text), 132 (trans.); cf. Getatchew 2009a: 132.

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and she was from the tribe of Agaw 'Queen of the sons of the Haghwiyah'.[57] Her story exists in several versions. She is generally said to have been a resident of Axum, perhaps a member of the royal family reduced to prostitution.[58] According to Bruce (1790, vol. 2: 452 ff.), who is considered as a disseminator of her legend, Gudit set out to destroy Christianity and eliminate the Solomonic line. He adds that she massacred the royal house and established a Jewish dynasty that ruled Ethiopia for many generations. Guidi claims that she was the queen of 'Banū l-Yahudiya' and also identifies her as Jewish, as did Basset (1882: 227) and Rathjens (1921: 18–24). Although Conti Rossini (1928: 285–289) demonstrated that significant reasons exist for rejecting the queen's alleged Jewishness, authors have continued to describe her as a *'Fälaša*' or 'Betä Ǝsra'el' queen. Conti Rossini claims that the queen was probably of Damot (Sidama) origin, which has been echoed by several scholars in recent years.[59] Fiaccadori (1992), on the other hand, after reviewing some Ethiopic and Arabic sources, states that she is rather likely to have ruled over and come from the Sidama area of Bale. Internal sources related to Gudit are limited. Kaplan (1992: 45) presents the powerful non-Christian queen as reported by external sources and quotes from the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* as follows:

> The king of al-Habesh sent to the king of Nubia, a youth whose name was Girgis (George), and made known to him how the Lord had chastened him, he and the inhabitants of his land. It was that a woman, a queen of Bani al-Hamwiyah had revolted against him and against his country.

Some contemporary sources of Gudit state that she killed the king, who was titled *Haḍani* and ruled for many years. Ibn Ḥawqal (AD 943–977), in a reference that would appear to date these important events somewhat earlier, notes:

> The country of the *habasha* has been ruled by a woman for many years now: she killed the king of *habasha* titled *Haḍani*. Until today she rules with complete independence over her own country and the frontier areas of the territory of the *Haḍani* in the southern part of [the country of] the *habasha*.[60]

57 Cf. Budge 1928: 213–214, also 279.

58 Cf. Kaplan 2005: 376.

59 From well-documented southern traditions, it is known that female rulers existed in the Sidama region. For a detailed account cf. Kaplan 1992: 45–46.

60 Cited from Kaplan 1992: 45.

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Bruce also reports the tradition and states that Gudit's intention was to extirpate the Solomonic line and her primary adversary was the *haḍani*. However, Kaplan (1992: 46–47) is not convinced by his statement. Anbäsa Wədəm (EC 882–902 [AD 889/890–909/910]),[61] according to tradition, rebuilt the church of Axum which had been destroyed by Gudit.[62] Again it was destroyed by Aḥmed Grañ in AD 1535. Alvares, the first European to document the Ethiopian version of the legend of the Queen of Sheba and the birth of her son Mənilək, writes that the Ark was still to be found in the Holy of Holies of this ancient church. It is from Alvares that we know the plan of the former Cathedral of Axum Zion before the destruction of Ahmed Graň.[63]

Later, a much larger church was reconstructed on part of the ruins through the generosity of Emperor Fasilädäs[64] and the empress-mother, Wäld Sä'ala, and was consecrated in 1655 in the presence of Princess Yodit, Fasilädas' daughter.[65] 'Later', states Munro-Hay (2006: 155) 'and perhaps resulting in the classical Gondarine form we see today, Iyasu II, visiting Aksum in 1750, ordered restoration work on the church'.

The New Cathedral of Axum Zion[66] was built by Emperor Ḫaylä Śəllase in 1965. The building was designed by the firm Doxiadis Associates, established by Constantinos Doxiadis (1913–1975), an internationally known Greek architect. When it was inaugurated in 1965 it was reported to be the third-largest concrete dome in the world.[67] The Ark Chapel[68] was built by the Empror's wife *Mänän*. This building dates back to the 1950s, when it was designed by the Italian architect Arturo Mezzedimi, who also designed the projects for the City Hall and the ECA-Africa Hall in Addis Ababa. It is said that he was invited by Empress *Mänän* to create a more suitable location for the Ark. Previously the Ark was kept in a small building in the area where the modern bell-tower now stands.[69]

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61 Cf. Taye 1921/1922 [EC 1914]: 59.

62 Cf. Ḫəruy (1921: 47). Munro-Hay (2006: 165) states that 'We have no proof, even, that these buildings were religious in purpose'. On the other hand, he mentions different church buildings by Śärṣä Dəngəl, restored by Fasilädas, Iyasu II and others. He also assumes that there were at least six building periods.

63 Cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 150; Chiari 2009: 108, 112.

64 Cf. Hancock 1992: 21, 123.

65 Cf. figure 2 (in the appendix).

66 Cf. figure 3 (in the appendix).

67 Reported in Ethiopian Herald (cf. Teshome 1965: 1) on Feb. 7, 1965; cf. also Chiari 2009: 125.

68 Cf. figure 4 (in the appendix).

69 Interview with *Nəburä əd* Bälay, on Dec. 6, 2010. See also Chiari 2009: 122.

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Alvares[70] lists the clergy and important officials of Axum church in his time as follows:

> In this church there are 150 Debeteres [sic], that is canons, and as many monks. These two heads reside in the palaces which are within the great enclosure and circuit of the church; and the Nebrete [sic] of canons lodges at the right hand, and he is the principal one, and the more respected. He has jurisdiction over the canons and the laity of all this country: and the Nebrete [sic] of the monks only hears and rules the monks. Both use kettledrums and trumpets.

The following major church officials are functioning at Axum: *nəburä əd*, *afä Nəburä əd*,[71] four *märigetoč*,[72] *ʿaynä maḫbär*,[73] *qesä gäbäz*,[74] *afä gäbäz*,[75] and *liqä diyaqon*.[76] Currently the clergy number 350 (200 priests and deacons serving in the temple and 150 *däbtära*s 'cantors' singing at the *qəne maḥlet*).[77]

1.2 *'No One is Allowed'*

The ancient Axumite tradition stipulates that no one except the guardian monk is allowed to see the Ark of the Covenant. According to the tradition of Axum, there is a special council[78] which secretly gives instruction and inspection with respect to anything related to the Ark of the Covenant. For instance, if there is a need to move the Ark from its Chapel (due to war, destruction, etc.), then the council will secretly arrange the flight and will place it safely. Restoring the Ark to its Axumite Chapel after peace has been secured is also the task of this special council. It is forbidden for external visitors or to other clergy of Axum to see or touch the Ark of the Covenant. Many have wished to do so, but it was impossible.[79] For instance, Emperor Tewodros wanted to see the Ark of

70 Cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 160.

71 Lit. 'Spokesperson of the *Nəburä əd*'.

72 Two scholars on the right and two on the left side.

73 Lit. 'Eye of the congregation'.

74 'treasurer'.

75 Lit. 'Spokesperson of the treasurer'.

76 'arch-deacon'.

77 These priests and clergy men serve all the churches in Axum city (viz. Ǝnda Arbaʿətu Ǝnsəsa, Ǝnda Iyasus, Ǝnda Libanos, Ǝnda Mikaʾel, Ǝnda Yared and the two Zion churches in the main compound), turn by turn. Interview with *Nəburä əd* Bälay, on Sept. 23, 2008.

78 Called: የጽዮን፡ ጠባቂዎች፡ ማኅበር፡, elected from the clergy and elderly people. This tradition of election continues from generation to generation.

79 There are a few deacons who serve holy water to the faithful. The informants (*Nəburä əd*

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the Covenant at Axum but he could not do it. The EOTC attributes this to God who did not judge him worthy.[80]

Only one King, among all the Ethiopian Kings, is said to have entered into the Chapel of the Ark and consecrated the Liturgy. He is Adyam Säggäd Iyasu (Iyasu I, 1682–1706).[81] The following is cited from the chronicle of Iyasu I:

> … ወተቀበልዎ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ ካህናት፡ እለ፡ ሀለዉ፡ ውስተ፡ አክሱም፡ በክብር፡ ወበማኅሌት፡ ወዝማሬ። ወተጽእነ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዲበ፡ ፈረስ፡ ወኵሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ተለዉ፡ ተፅዕኑ፡ ዲበ፡ አፍራስ፡ ወበጽሑ፡ ምስለ፡ ንጉሥ፡ እስከ፡ ደጀ፡ ሰላም፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ አንቀጽ፡ ዘታቦተ፡ ጽዮን። ወቦአ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውስተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ዘታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወተሳለመ፡ ኪያሃ፡ ወነበረ፡ ዲበ፡ ዝፋን [sic]፡ በልማደ፡ ነገሥት፡ አበዊሁ፡ እለ፡ ነበሩ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ዲበ፡ ውእቱ፡ መንበር፡ ዘዝፋን [sic]፡ ለቢሶ፡ ልብሰ፡ ዲባግ፡ ዘኢይትዓወቅ፡ ኅብሩ። ወዘየሐይድ፡ ዓይነ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ልብሰ፡ መንግሥት፡ ክቡር፡ ዘለብሶ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ዳዊት፡ አቡሁ፡ አመ፡ ተቀበላ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ቤተ፡ አቢዳራ። ንግባዕኬ፡ ኅበ፡ ጥንተ፡ ነገርነ፡ ወአምጽኡ፡ ካህናት፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ታሪክ፡ ዘነገሥት፡ አበዊሁ። ወአንበቡ፡ ሎቱ፡ ቅድሜሁ፡ እስከ፡ ጊዜ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ ቍርባን። ወበጊዜ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ ቍርባን፡ ቦአ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውስተ፡ ቅድስተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወተመጠወ፡ ቍርባነ፡ እም፡ እደ፡ ካህናት፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወደሙ፡ ክቡር፡ ለእግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ አምላከ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወምድር፡ ወመድኀኒ፡ ዓለም። ወእምድኅረ፡ ተመጠወ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ቍርባነ፡ በዕለተ፡ እሑድ፡ ሰንበት፡ አመ፡ ፮፡ ለየካቲት፡ ዓተወ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽርሕ፡ ዘሀለወት፡ ቅርብተ፡ ጥቃ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ወገብረ፡ ምሳሐ፡ ለካህናት። ወኮነ፡ ዐቢይ፡ ፍሥሐ።
>
> ወአመ፡ ፯፡ ለየካቲት፡ በዕለተ፡ ሠኑይ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ በዓተ፡ ጾመ፡ ነነዌ፡ ቦአ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ወአዘዘ፡ ካህናተ፡ ያምጽእዋ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወያርእይ፡ ኪያሃ። ወአምጽኡ፡ ሎቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ትሄሉ፡ ውስተ፡ ውሳጤ፡ ሣዕን፡ ዘቦቱ፡ ፮፡ አቍላፋት። ወለ፮፡ አቍላፋት፡ ሀሎን፡ ዘበበገጻቲሆን፡ ወበበመዓርጊሆን፡ ለለባሕቲቶን፡ ፮፡ መራጒት፡ እለ፡ ኢየኃብራ፡ ግዕዘ፡ አሐቲ፡ ምስለ፡ አሐቲ። ዳእሙ፡ ይትሌለያ፡ ግብረ፡ ርኅወተ፡ አቍላፋት፡ ዘበየታሆን። ወአምጽኡ፡ ሎቱ፡ መራጒተ፡ ወወጠኑ፡ ካህናት፡ አርኅተ፡ ቍልፍ፡ አሐቲ፡ በአሐቲ፡ መርሆ። ወአርኃዉ፡ እሎንተ፡ አቍላፋተ፡ ዘዘከርናሆን፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ኅበ፡ ዝገጽ፡ እኂዙሙ፡ እምቀዳሚት፡ ወካልእት፡ ወሣልሲት፡ ወራብዒት፡ ወኃምሲት፡ ወሳድሲት። ወበጽሑ፡ እስከ፡ ሳብዒት፡ ቍልፍ፡ ወፃመዉ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ለአርኅዎታ። ወኢተክህሎሙ፡ ወስእኑ፡ አርኅዎታ። ወሶበ፡ ተስእኖሙ፡ አብጽሕዋ፡ ኅበ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ተርኅወት፡ ሶቤሃ፡ ለሊሃ፡ ወደንገፀ፡ ወአንከሩ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ርእዩ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምረ። ዝንቱሰ፡ ዘኮነ፡ በሥምረተ፡ አምላከ፡ ታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ኃደረ፡ ላዕሌሃ፡

Bälay and Mhr. Solomon) explained to me that these deacons are allowed to enter up to the outer side of the Chapel (to the curtain), but not inside the inner *sancta sanctorum* of Ǝnda Ṣəlat. Only the guardian has the right of access to enter and serve the Ark (on Dec. 6, 2010).

80 Cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 289.

81 Cf. Guidi 1960–1961: 151–152, Munro-Hay 2006: 14, 135.

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ዾበ፡ ርእየ፡ ንጽሐ፡ ልቡናሁ፡ ወስነ፡ ርትዕት፡ ሃይማኖቱ፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ለሊሁ፡ ለእመ፡ ብክሙ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ መጠነ፡ ጎጠተ፡ ሰናፔ፡ ወትብልዎ፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ደብር፡ ፍልስ፡ ወይፈልስ፡ ወለእመ፡ ትብልዋ፡ ለዛቲ፡ ሰግላ፡ ተመልሒ፡ እምሥርውኪ፡ ወተተክሊ፡ ውስተ፡ ባሕር፡ ይከውን፡ በከመ፡ ነበብክሙ። ወአሜሃ፡ ርእያ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወነጸራ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ገጸ፡ በገጽ፡ ወተናገራ፡ አፈ፡ በአፍ፡ በከመ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ነጸራ፡ ዕዝራ፡ ወተናገራ። ወበህየ፡ ዜነወቶ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወመዐደቶ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ሠናይተ፡ ምክረ፡ ወጥበበ፡ በዘቦሙ፡ ይሜግብ፡ ዓለመ፡ ምድራዌ። ወበዘቦሙ፡ ይወርስ፡ ዓለመ፡ ሰማያዌ።

… And all the priests who were at Axum received him [King Iyasu] honorably in canticle and song. The king mounted the horse and all who followed him mounted horses; and they reached up to *däǧǧä śälam*, which is the gate of the Ark of Zion, together with the king. The king, having entered the sanctuary of the Ark of Zion kissed it and seated himself on the throne, according to the custom of the kings his fathers, who seated themselves formerly on this throne seat; he was dressed in a brocade robe of unknown and wonderful colors, which was the glorious royal vestment which formerly dressed David his father, when he received the Ark of Zion at the house of Abidara. Let us return to the matter we were speaking of. And the priests brought the book of the story of the kings his fathers, and read it to him, in his presence until the time of the Holy Liturgy. At the time of Holy Liturgy the king entered the Holy of Holies and received Communion, which is Holy Flesh and Honorable Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Lord of heavens and earth, Savior of the World, from the hands of the priests. After the king had received communion, on Sunday 7th *Yäkkatit*, he went to the chamber close to the sanctuary; he offered a feast to the clergy and there was great joy.

On Monday 8th of *Yäkkatit*, which is the beginning, the fast of Nineveh, the king entered the sanctuary and ordered the priests to bring the Ark of Zion and show it to him. They brought it to him, enclosed within a coffer which has seven locks. And the seven locks had their own keys distinct in their countenance and position, whose form were in no way alike one to the other. The method of opening them was in each case different. They brought the keys to him and the priests began to open each lock with its own key. And they opened those locks that we mentioned earlier, beginning with the first, and the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth and the sixth. They came to the seventh lock and they made great efforts to open it, but they did not succeed and could not open it. When it was impossible for them [to open it] they took it to the king and the lock opened of itself. All who saw this miracle were astonished and amazed. This occurred by the will of the God of the Ark of Zion, who dwelt upon

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> it, when He saw the purity of the spirit of the King and the excellence of his orthodox faith, as He Himself said: 'If you have faith like a grain of mustard, say to that mountain: arise, and it will arise; and if you say to this sycamore, be uprooted and transplanted in the sea, it will come to pass as you have said'. Then the king beheld and looked upon the Ark of Zion, and spoke to it face to face, as formerly Ezra saw and spoke to it. And there Zion [i.e. the Ark] imparted to the king good advice and wisdom to govern the earthly world and to inherit the heavenly world.
>
> Text, GUIDI 1961: 151–152; translation, mine[82]

The abbreviated chronicle (Basset 1882) limits itself to describing Iyasu's arrival at Axum, and his receiving of communion on Sunday. The next day 'He penetrated into the Sanctuary and opened with his own hand the Ark of Zion, something which the priests could only do with numerous keys'.[83] The *Śərʾatä Ṣəyon* 'Ordinance of Zion'[84] describes the situation as follows: **ወበሳኒታ፡ ቦአ፡ ውስተ፡ መቅደስ። ወአርኃዋ፡ በእዴሁ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ሶበ፡ ተስእኖሙ፡ ለካህናቲሃ።** 'On the morrow, he [Iyasu] entered to the Sanctuary. He opened the Ark of the Covenant by his hand when it was impossible for the priests'.[85]

Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 1) commence their book and say 'In the sixth month of the Year of Creation 7191,[86] the emperor Iyasu rode through the hills of northern Abyssinia toward the holy city of Aksum. Honored as 'the royal

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82 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 136.

83 Quoted from Munro-Hay 2006: 137.

84 NL 821, f. 133.

85 Budge (1922: viii–ix) presents a similar tradition of the Egyptian kings. His statement goes: 'We know from the inscriptions that the Ark of Amen was provided with doors that were kept bolted and sealed. On certain occasions the king had the right to break these seals and unbolt the doors, and look upon the face of the god. Thus, after his conquest of Egypt, the Nubian king Piānkhi went to visit Rā in his sanctuary near Heliopolis. He was received by the Kherḥeb priest, who prayed that … Piānkhi ascended the steps leading to the ark of Rā and stood there alone. He broke the seal, drew the bolts, threw open the doors and looked upon the face of Rā … In this way Piānkhi was recognized by Rā as the king of all Egypt …'.

86 The date 7191 year of Creation seems erroneous. The edited chronicle of the Emperor by Guidi (1961: 151) writes that he partook of the Holy Communion on *Yäkkatit* 7 (Sunday), and on the morrow *Yäkkatit* 8, which was Monday, the King entered the Holy of Holies and ordered the priests to bring him *Tabotä Ṣəyon* and the key opened by itself. But *Yäkkatit* 8 falls on Monday in the year EC 1683 [= AD 1691]. This year is accepted also by Munro-Hay (2006: 135). The year 1683 (1691) is the equivalent of the Year of Creation 7183 (1683 + 5500) and not 7191.

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throne of the kings of Zion, the mother of all lands, pride of the entire universe, and jewel of kings', the city was so ancient that no one could remember how or when it had been built'. On another page of the book, the authors give the same account of King Iyasu the Great: 'Emperor Iyasu enters the sanctuary at Aksum and commands the priests to bring the Ark of the Covenant to him, the chronicle reports the events that follow as a miracle. The Ark is sealed with seven locks, and the priests open these one after the other. They only succeed with six, however. The seventh cannot be moved, and when they finally decide to carry the Ark unopened into the presence of the emperor, the Ark releases the seventh seal and reveals itself to Iyasu of its own will'.[87]

Various visitors to Axum requested to see the AC. Nevertheless, the Axumite priests were thoroughly committed to the tradition and said 'No one'. We can see the insistence of Dimotheos, as an example. Himself and his party asked *däğğazmač* Kasa Mərṣa to order the priests of Axum to let them see the AC. The priests of Axum Zion replied 'As per the tradition, it is not possible to venerate the AC except one monk'. Dimotheos then complained to the Axumite priests and said that 'Traditions should be respected, of course, but theirs was simply astonishing. It prevented Christians from honoring such a sacred object'. He continued his argument and told the priests that 'Which was the more worthy of veneration, the Tablet or the Cross?' After some discussion, the priests agreed that the holy Cross was the greater. Dimotheos then asked 'Why, if the Cross was not hidden but exhibited everywhere, should anyone be prevented from touching and venerating this Tablet written by the hand of God himself?' Dimotheos added that the secrecy and concealment surrounding this Tablet simply added to doubts about its authenticity.[88]

Not only King Iyasu but also St. Yared entered into the presence of the Ark. From the Vita of St. Yared, we read that he entered the Sanctuary and praised the Ark of the Covenant.[89] Then he touched the Ark with his two hands. The text goes as follows:

> **ወሶቤሃ፡ ቦአ፡ ያሬድ፡ ውስተ፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እንተ፡ይእቲ፡ ገበዘ፡ አክሱም። ወአንበረ፡ ፪፡ እደዊሁ፡ ውስተ፡ ርእሰ፡ ታቦት፡ ወከልሐ፡ በልዑል፡ ቃል፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ቅድስት፡ ወብፅዕት፡ ስብሕት፡ ወቡርክት፡ ክብርት፡ ወልዕልት፡ አንቀጸ፡ ብርሃን፡ መዓርገ፡ ሕይወት፤ እስከ፡ ተፍጻሜቱ።**

87 Quoted from Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 336.

88 Cf. Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 288–289.

89 Yared first sang what he learned from the Seraphim and descended to the Axumite cathedral at 3:00 o'clock before the Ark (cf. Conti Rossini 1904: 10).

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> And at that time Yared entered to the Ark of the Law of the Lord, which is the cathedral of Axum. He laid his two hands on the Tabot. He acclaimed in a loud voice saying '[You are] Holy and blessed, praised and glorified, honored and exalted, the gate of light and ascent of life'; until the end.
>
> Text, CONTI ROSSINI 1904: 12; translation, mine[90]

From the Ethiopic sources we see that only these two personalities, St. Yared (from his hagiography) and Emperor Iyasu Adyam Säggäd (from his chronicle), are the only were enabled to see and praise the Ark of the Covenant at Axum.

1.3 *Feast of Zion*

The feast of *Ḫədar Ṣəyon* is held at Axum annually on *Ḫədar* 21 (November 30).[91] The celebration is colorful and a huge crowd of pilgrims from every corner of the country turns up for the occasion.[92] It celebrates the arrival of the Ark of the Covenant in Axum as well as the dedication of the church of *Maryam Ṣəyon* by Frumentius. Miracle of *Ṣəyon* (MS EMML 8823) states:

> ወበዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ አመ፡ ፷ወ፩፡ ለኀዳር፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ተመይጦታ፡ እም፡ ኀበ፡ ፄወውዋ፡ ኀበ፡ ቤታ። ወዳግም፡ ምጽአታ፡ ኀበ፡ ምድረ፡ አክሱም። ወበእንተዝ፡ ያብዕሉ፡ ላቲ፡ በዓለ፡ ዓቢየ፡ አመ፡ ፷ወ፩፡ ለለወርኁ። ወፈድፋደሰ፡ አመ፡ ፷ወ፩፡ ለኀዳር። ወነበረት፡ ህየ፡ በሕገ፡ ኦሪት፡ እስከ፡ ይትወለድ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ እም፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል። ወሶበ፡ ተወልደሂ፡ ብዙኃ፡ መዋዕለ፡ ምስለ፡ ካህናቲሃ፡ ነበሩ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ያእምሩ፡ ልደቶ፡ ለክርስቶስ። ወእምዝ፡ መጽአ፡ አባ፡ ሰላማ፡ እምብሔረ፡ ግብፅ፡ ኀበ፡ አክሱም። ወይቤሎሙ፡ ለካህናት፡ ጽዮን፡ በምንት፡ ሕግ፡ ሀለውክሙ። ወይቤልዎ፡ በሕገ፡ ኦሪት። ወይቤሎሙ፡ ኢያእመርክሙኑ፡ ከመ፡ ተፈጸመ፡ ተስፋ፡ አቡነ፡ አዳም፡ ወኪዳነ፡ አብርሃም፡ ወመሐላሁ፡ ለዳዊት።

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90 Cf. Grohmann 1919: 22–23.

91 *Tä'ammərä Maryam* states 33 Marian feasts yearly (cf. Perruchon: 1893: 75–76). Munro-Hay (2006: 169) writes that 'King Zara Yaqob, Sayfa Arad's grandson, imposed over thirty new feasts for Mary on the Ethiopian church, and greatly encouraged her worship'. The major feasts are *Näḫase* 7—*Ṣənsäta* 'her conception' in the womb of Ann, her Mother; *Gənbot* 1—*Lədäta* 'her nativity'; *Taḫśaś* 3—*Bä'ata* 'her entrance' to the Temple; *Yäkkatit* 16—*Kidanä Məḫrät* 'her delivery of the Covenant of Mercy' from Her Son; *Ṭərr* 21—*'Əräfta* 'her departure'; *Näḫase* 16—*Fəlsäta* 'her Assumption'. The feast of *Ḫədar Ṣəyon* nevertheless, is not mentioned. We cannot find any note on the feast of *Ḫədar Ṣəyon* in the Ethiopian Synaxarium. The feast of Zion on Nov. 30, therefore, is based on DṢ.

92 There are numerous pilgrims who come from the Diaspora for the *Ṣəyon* feast.

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> Therefore, [it is praiseworthy] to celebrate the great feast to her every 21st day of the month. She lived in the [order of] Law until Christ was born from the Holy Virgin. While He was born, they were living with her priests without knowing the birth of Christ. Then, *abba* Sälama came from the country of Egypt to Axum. And he said to the priests of Zion 'By which Law are you [still ruled]?' They replied 'In the Law [Old Testament]'. He said to them 'Do not you know that the hope of our father Adam, the covenant of Abraham and the promise of David have been fulfilled'.

Nəburä əd Ermyas Kebede[93] (2004/2005 [EC 1997]: 364) states that the feast of Zion is also called *Täzkarä Maryam*:

> **ጌታችን፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስና፡ እመቤታችን፡ ድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ ዓሥሩ፡ የእግዚአብሔር፡ ቃላት፡ በተጻፉባቸው፡ ጽላትና፡ እነርሱን፡ በያዘችው፡ ታቦት፡ አድረው፡ የኖሩባትና፡ ኪዳነ፡ ሙሴ፡ የምትባለው፡ ታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ የምትዘከርበት፡ በዓል፡ ጎዳር፡ ጽዮን፡ ወይም፡ ተዝካረ፡ ማርያም፡ ተብሎ፡ በጎዳር፡ ፳፩፡ ቀን፡ ይከበራል።**
>
> The feast of the Ark of the Covenant, also called the Covenant of Moses, in which Our Lord Jesus Christ and Our Lady Virgin Mary reside and on which the Ten Commandments of the Lord, were written, is celebrated on Ḫədar 21[94] and is referred to as Ḫədar Ṣəyon or täzkarä Maryam, 'commemoration of Mary'.
>
> Translation, mine

Dərsanä Ṣəyon is intended to be read on this feast. According to *nəburä əd* Bälay,[95] 'DṢ must be read for seven days until the feast of Zion. If someone

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93 According to Girma Elyas (1998/1999 [EC 1991]: 90) this Ermyas was the 86th *Nəburä əd* of Axum.

94 I.e. Nov. 30.

95 *Nəburä əd* Bälay, according to the list of Girma Elyas (1998/1999 [EC 1991]: 90), is the 90th *Nəburä əd* counting from Azaryas, the first High priest of Zion. However, the list seems not exhaustive. It states only nine High priests until the time of King ʿAmdä Ṣəyon (1314–1344) and the title *Nəburä əd* starts with Mikaʾel. Yet, the famous *Nəburä əd* Yəsḥaq, in whose time KN was translated, is not included in the list; nor is *Nəburä əd* Gäbrä Mikaʾel during the time of Zärʾa Yaʿəqob (cf. Cerulli 1943: 117). At the time of the interview, eight *Nəburanä əd* of Axum had succeeded *Nəburä əd* Bälay (he served for 14 years, EC 1978–1992). The following are his successors: (1) *Nəburä əd* Gäbrä Waḥəd (later ordained as Bishop *abunä* Mäqaryos) → (2) *Nəburä əd* Täṭämqä → (3) *Nəburä əd* Elyas → (4) *Nəburä əd abba*

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seeks the blessings of Zion and wants to read it at any time, however, he will be permitted'.[96] Mhr. Solomon, on the other hand explains, 'Since the appointment of the current *ʿƎqa bet* (Abba Gäbrä Mäsqäl),[97] it is being read daily, for he has much devotion to Zion'. The following colophon, nevertheless, confirms that DṢ must be read on the 21st of *Ḫədar*. The quotation is from the critical edition of DṢ in [§136]:

> ተፈጸመ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ድርሳን፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ በወርኃ፡ ካኑን፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለወርኃ፡ ጎዳር፡ በሰላመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ አሜን። ወበረድኤተ፡ ወልድ፡ አሜን። ወበሥምረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ መንፈስ ቅዱስ፡ ጰራቅሊጦስ፡ አሜን።
>
> The homily, which is read in the month of *Kanun* on the 21st of the month of *Ḫədar*, is [now] completed, by the peace of the Lord the Father, Amen; and with the help of the Son, Amen; and by the will of the Lord the Holy Spirit, Paraclete, Amen.

Munro-Hay (2006: 233, note 34) takes note of the service of *Ṣəyon* at Axum from the translation of the chronicle of Mənilək II by Guébré Sellassié. Munro-Kay gives the note: 'On the evening of Hedar Seyon, Psalm 137:1, is sung, and Matthew 23:34–36, is read. Acts 7:44–47, is also read. Early next day Psalm 132:13–14, is sung; Matthew 5:17–20, is read and during the mass Psalm 139:19–21 is sung and Matthew 12:27–28 is read. The mass is *Kedase Maryam*. The key verse of the day is Psalm 87:5–6. 'Yes, of Zion it will be said, 'This one and that one were born in her', and the Most High himself establishes her. The Lord will count as He registers the peoples: this one was born there''.

Zäkkaryas → (5) *Nəburä əd* Täsfay → (6) *Nəburä əd* Yoḥannəs (who was in his office during my first visit of Axum in 2008) → (7) *Nəburä əd* Gäbrä Maryam → (8) *Nəburä əd* Gäbrä Ḥəywät (the current head of the Church). (Interview with *Nəburä əd* Elyas Abrəha (on Nov. 27, 2010, at his office in Addis Ababa)), *Nəburä əd* Bälay (on Dec. 6, 2010, in front of the new Cathedral, Axum).

96 I have attended the DṢ reading ceremony for four consecutive days after the annual feast of Zion (on Dec. 4–7, 2010).

97 *ʿƎqa bet abba* Gäbrä Mäsqäl (originally not from Axum but from the Amhara region) was elected by the church community three years back when the then *ʿƎqa bet abba* Täklä Maryam was seriously ill. *abba* Täklä Maryam recovered after medical treatment, but the *maḥbär* decided to let *abba* Gäbrä Mäsqäl continue the guardianship of the Ark. (Interview with Mhr. Solomon, dated 07/12/2010). *ʿƎqa bet* Gäbrä Mäsqäl himself stated that he is provisional guardian of the Ark, until *ʿƎqa bet abba* Täklä Maryam replaces him (interview on Sept. 25, 2008).

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Dəggʷa,[98] the hymnody of St. Yared on *Ḫədar Ṣəyon*, preserves a long praise which lauds Mary-Zion. It gives various interpretations of the Ark-Zion-Mary symbolism. Furthermore, *Mäṣḥafä Gəṣṣawe*[99] orders Ps. 48:12 to be sung at dawn on the day of Zion's feast. The following *arke* is cited from *Mälkəʾa Maryam*, a chant on Mary Zion, on *Ḫədar* 21:[100]

ሰላም፡ ለመከየድኪ፡ እለ፡ ረከቦን፡ መከራ።
እምፍርሃተ፡ ቀተልት፡ ሐራ፡ እንበለ፡ አጣዕን፡ አመ፡ ሖራ።
ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ ቃለ፡ ጽድቅ፡ መንፈቀ፡ ዕሥራ።
ዕጎላት፡ እምዕጎሊሆን፡ እለ፡ ኪያኪ፡ አፍቀራ።
አፍቀርኩኪ፡ አፍቅርኒ፡ እምይእዜ፡ ለግሙራ።

Salutation to your footstool[s], which received temptations;
From the killing of the soldier, when they went without shoes;
Mary Zion, Tabot of the word of righteous, half of twenty;[101]
As the cows (lit. 'calves') loved you more than their calves;[102]
I love you [and] let you love me completely from now.

Text, TÄSFA 1970/1971 [EC 1963]: 16; translation, mine

2 Axum

We have rich sources on Axum and Axumite civilization,[103] and different archaeologists, historians and philologists have contributed greatly to our knowledge. This book is not intended to give a detailed account of the history of Axum. Only a few points related to DṢ are presented here.[104]

98 Cf. EMML 2542, a late 16th cent. Antiphonary for the Year [*Dəggʷa*], ff. 5ʳ–131ᵛ, here ff. 22ʳ–42ᵛ. Getatchew and Macomber 1983: 23–24 state that the sections of this *Dəggʷa* correspond with the printed *Dəggʷa* (1966/1967 [EC 1959]) and the Five Modes of Chants printed in 1972/1973 [EC 1965], although they note that there is a textual difference between them.

99 Cf. Täsfa 1991/1992 [EC 1983]: 31.

100 There are also various chants.

101 Half of twenty is 'ten'. Hence, it implies the Ten Commandments inscribed on the Tablet of the Ark.

102 The Bible states how the Ark of the Covenant was carried on a cart to the house of King David. The Bible says that the cart was carried on [two] oxen (cf. 2 Sam. 6:1–6). The above *Mälkʾə*, on the other hand, calls them calves.

103 Cowley (1971b: 25, note 20) mentions of *Kebäbä Aksum*, a text that preserves a history of Axum. The text is described as 'Of *ʾAṣe* Gäbrä Mäsqäl'.

104 For the chronology of Axum, cf. Fattovich 2003: 181–182 and Munro-Hay 1991.

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Conti Rossini (1938: 786) derives the word Axum from a Semitic word *Aksum* which he says signifies *hortus viridis et densis herbis impletus* 'a green garden full of dense grass'. Sergew (1972: 68) collects various etymologies for the name Axum. He writes that the word Aksum is partially Agaw in origin. *Ak* or *Aku* means 'water', whereas the suffix *sum* is Semitic and means 'chief'. If it is so, Axum means 'chief's water', which is confirmed by the existence of *may šum* in the city.[105] Tradition, on the other hand, gives the etymology of Axum from the name of a king called Axumawi,[106] who is otherwise unattested.

Axum was a center for trade and caravan routes to Egypt and Meroe. Access to sea trade with the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean helped Axum become an international trading power. Adulis, the Axumite seaport, was crowded with traders from Egypt, Arabia, Persia, India and the Roman Empire. Ayele Bekery,[107] referring to archeological evidence, remarks the following about Axum:

> Empress *Makeda*, the legendary woman ruler, ruled from Aksum. The Ark of the Covenant is housed in Aksum. The Prophet Mohammed sent his followers to Aksum to avoid religious persecution. Some of the most powerful rulers, who established diplomatic relations with Rome (AD 274), Alexandria and Meroe. Persians and other significant powers of the period had also contacts with Aksum.

Hence, it is clear that Axum was one of the leading powers of classical times. Axumite kings were victorious and popular in the surrounding area. The reign of Kaleb and his conquest of South Arabia on behalf of the Christian world mark the apex of Axumite power, prestige, and international fame. Although his successors soon lost control of South Arabia to one of their own generals, many Ethiopian traditions view the middle of the sixth century as a prosperous period that saw important developments in the evolution of both church and state.[108]

This powerful kingdom, however, declined ca. 8th cent. AD due to the rise of Islam. Muslim invaders destroyed Adulis in AD 710 which cut Axum off from the major ports of both the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. As a result, the Axumite kingdom declined as an international political power and lost its

105 Cf. Tubiana, 1953: 48; also Monneret 1938: 7. See now Marrassini 2014a: 14–15.

106 Out of eight king lists by Conti Rossini (1909a: 19), the second list (B) says the name አኵስማይ፡.

107 Cf. [http://www.theriseofaksum.com] (20/04/2009).

108 Cf. Kaplan 1992: 41.

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identity. Merid Wolde Aregay (1988: 162) on the other hand states that the cause for the decline of Axumite power was the Beja migration. He writes 'The spread of Islam along the Ethiopian coast was not the cause but the consequence of the retraction of Aksumite presence from these areas. Scholars of the Aksumite period attribute a very important role to the Beja migration in causing the decline of Aksumite trade'. Similarly, Kaplan (1992: 41) remarks on the decline of the Axumite kingdom and the consequences:

> Between 702 and 715, the Arabs eliminated the Aksumite fleet and destroyed Adulis. This change in trading patterns, which left Aksum isolated and landlocked, was a major blow to the economic basis of Aksumite power … In the north the Beja, a powerful pastoralist people, gained control of much of the coastal plain which today comprises Eritrea. To the West, areas beyond the Takkaze river, which had long been conquered and incorporated into the kingdom, regained their independence and cut off the Aksumites from the main goldbearing districts.

Nevertheless, the decline of Axum did not immediately result in either the disappearance of its kings or the decline of Christian influence in the highlands of Ethiopia. Numerous traditions indicate that from the seventh century onward the center of gravity of the Christian kingdom moved southward. In the ninth century there were military campaigns, church building, and evangelization as far south as the Amhara region.[109]

The four centuries after the fall of Axum are commonly termed the Post-Axumite period (8th–12th cent. AD), which terminated with the advent of the Zagʷe dynasty in about AD 1137.[110] After that Axum was no longer used as the name of the Ethiopian people. *Ḥabaš* remained, as usual, the Arab name for the people, and the country was called *Ḥabaša*.[111]

2.1 *Coronation at Axum*[112]

Axumite coronation was one of the important royal ceremonies of the Ethiopian monarchs. It was not a ceremony in which a crown was placed on the

109 Cf. Kaplan 1992: 42.

110 Budge (1933: xlii) gives the Zagʷe period as (AD 914–1268); for brief discussion of the Zagʷe dynasty, see Kaplan 1984: 19–22.

111 Cf. Munro-Hay 1991: 82.

112 For a brief but comprehensive note on the subject, refer to Munro-Hay 2004: 177–201; Rich. Pankhurst 2003: 802–804.

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king's head, but instead a consecration or introduction into kingship.[113] Orlowska (2006: 13)[114] mentions that at Axum coronation was not decisive for enthronement. She says 'Only five out of fifty-eight Solomonic emperors who reigned between 1270 and 1855 went to Axum for the coronation'. If we add Kasa Mərčʼa's coronation which was performed in 1872, the number will becomes six. These few Solomonid Kings had the tradition of going to Axum and performing their coronation.[115] The Gondarine emperors after Iyoʾas (1755–1769) stopped going to Axum for the coronation, limiting themselves to a modest ceremony at Gondär. The Zagʷe Kings were crowned in the churches of the Archangel Michael and Giyorgis (at Roha), not in Axum Zion, as stated by Abū Ṣāliḥ.[116] Abū Ṣāliḥ also mentions that their royal coronation was followed by robing; no overtones relating to Zion are recorded.[117] In describing the ritual coronation of Emperor Susneyos (1607–1632) Paez writes that 'Sometimes the kings are crowned in the Garangaredaz church in the kingdom of Amhara'. But he continues 'They believe it a greater honor to be crowned at Axum, as this had been the seat of the Queen Sheba and her son Mənilək. In fact, they would rather delay the ceremony than perform it elsewhere'.[118]

The best description of the Axumite ceremony of royal coronation is to be found in MS BL Or. 817, ff. 11ᵇ–12.[119] General features of the coronation ceremony are as follows:

113 Cf. Munro-Hay 2004: 177.

114 Dr. Izabela Orlowska, my former colleague at the Philology Program, Addis Ababa University, generously gave me a copy of the third chapter of her PhD dissertation. I am very grateful to her. Page numbers of Orlowska (quoted in this book) refer to the third chapter of her thesis.

115 In KN chs. 39 and 92 legendary anointing ceremonies are described briefly for Mənilək I. The first of this is supposed to have taken place in Jerusalem, in front of the Ark in the Holy of Holies of the Temple of Solomon, and the second in Ethiopia at the capital Däbrä Makədda presided over by Azarias, son of the high priest Zadok. The origin of these mythical ceremonies is clearly the ritual used for Solomon himself, at Gihon, by Zadok, as described in 1 Kings 1:33–40.

116 See Evetts 1895: 286–287, Munro-Hay 2004: 178, Munro-Hay 2006: 90.

117 We can mention one incident of the reflection of KN on the Zagʷe coronation. Munro-Hay (2006: 90, 241, note 63) refers Marrassini's *Gadla Yemreḥanna Krestos* (1995: 69) and remarks: 'Perhaps we can see a reflection of the KN in an incident mentioned in Yimrehana Krestos's Life just before the account of his enthronement'. See also Munro-Hay 2004: 178.

118 Quoted from Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 267.

119 Cf. Taddesse 1972: 248, note 3.

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1) The priests and deacons will receive the king with golden crosses, the silver censer and various parasols (umbrellas), will chant the hymn of Yared 'May you be blessed, O King of Israel';
2) 'Daughters of Zion' will wait at the milestone to the east of the great church, called 'Cutting the Cord';
3) The King will arrive at Axum—in front of Zion, the Ark of the Covenant;
4) Two old women will stand together with the 'Daughters of Zion' and will ask the king his name and his family;
5) Then, the king will pronounce 'I am the son of David, the son of Ǝbnä Ḥakim'. They will question him again and he will declare his ancestors until his own father, his predecessor.
6) The women will cry aloud 'Truly you are the King of Zion, the son of David, the son of Solomon!';
7) The priests will chant on one side and the 'Daughters of Zion' on the other side;
8) Finally, the King will enter the court of the house of the heavenly Zion. Then all the people will shout, 'Long live the King of Zion!' and began to beat drums, blow trumpets and fire their guns;
9) The King will cast a great quantity of gold on the ground.
10) The king will sit on the 'Seat of David', which is dragged in precious fabrics.

It is clear that some Emperors may have deviated from this to follow their own arrangements. Nevertheless, the general outline of the coronation ceremony is similar.[120]

The following kings were crowned at Axum Zion:

1) **Zär'a Yaʿəqob** (1434–1468)—In 1436, two years after he became King of Ethiopia in Shoa, Zär'a Yaʿəqob traveled to Axum and underwent the customary rites of coronation in the ancient city.[121] Some say that Zär'a Yaʿəqob was

120 For a detailed description of the coronation, refer to Munro-Hay 1991: 130–133, Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 261–274, Munro-Hay 2006: 89–95. On the other hand, Kefyalew (2010/2011 [EC 2003]: 288–290) records the tradition about **የአራቱ፡ መናብርተ፡ ጽዮን፡ አለቆች፡** 'The four heads of the Seat of Zion'. According to him, the coronation of every Ethiopian king must be performed by four heads of monasteries. They are: **ንቡረ፡ እድ፡** (*nəburä əd*) of Axum (in crowning the King); **በትረያርክ፡** (*bäträyarək*) of Tädbabä Maryam (in girding the King's waist); **ርእሰ፡ ርኡሳን፡** (*rə'əsä rə'usan*) of Märṭulä Maryam (in conferring the king's vest) and **ሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡** (*liqä kahnat*) of Ṭana Qirqos (in anointing the King). He adds that the coronation ceremony will last for forty days.

121 Cf. Taddesse 1972: 248, Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 261, Munro-Hay 2006: 267.

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the founder of such a coronation. MA states that Zär'a Yaʿəqob revived the tradition. Munro-Hay (1991: 130) states his role: 'Zär'a Yaʿəqob is the first king who is known to have resurrected the ancient coronation ceremony at Aksum'. So he cannot be considered as the founder of such a coronation, but a restorer. Kobishchanov 1979: 202 says that the legendary King Gäbrä Mäsqäl was the founder. He remarks:

> Zara Yaqob resumed the coronation of the emperors in Axum and tried to restore its archaic ritual, the founding of which is ascribed to the legendary Axumite king Gebre Mesqel.

Hence, we can be clear that the coronation was considered an earlier Axumite tradition.[122]

2) **Bä'ədä Maryam** (1468–1478)—Son and successor of Zär'a Yaʿəqob, Bä'ədä Maryam was also crowned in front of Zion at Axum.[123] Kobishchanov (1979: 202) says about his coronation: 'When Emperor Baeda Maryam came to Axum for the coronation he found out about the old rite'. He quotes his chronicle[124] as follows:

> And the King [Bä'ədä Maryam] went into 'the house of vow-taking'. To him were led a buffalo and a lion according to the ancient custom in order that he strike them with his hand. But our king Baeda Maryam refused to strike them and ordered another to kill the buffalo but to let the lion[125] live, as did his father [Zär'a Yaʿəqob] in [that same] town of Axum when he carried out the rite of vow-taking.

The chronicler of Bä'ədä Maryam mentions that when the emperor was at Axum a special stone was shown to him on which the ancient kings sat in

122 Cf. Perruchon 1893: 49–52, 83.

123 Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 266) say that Bä'ədä Maryam was not crowned in the ancient city of Axum, but rather summoned the people of Axum to his coronation. Additionally, they state that, in spite of the efforts of Emperor Zär'a Yaʿəqob to revive the ancient coronation rites in Axum, very few of the medieval kings actually went there for their tonsuring. Munro-Hay (2004) also omits Bä'ədä Maryam's coronation.

124 Cf. Perruchon 1893: 175, Turaev 1936: 104.

125 This kind of keeping wild animals in the palace (such as lions, buffalos, leopards, snakes etc.) had been common since Axumite times. The reason is to show the election of the king by all, even by wild beasts (Kobishchanov 1979: 202–203).

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state in the council of the nobles. Twelve kingly generations, descendants of the ancient Axumite nobility, were arranged on twelve stones to the right and to the left of the king and the metropolitan. In 1520 Alvares also noted these twelve stones.[126]

3) **Śärṣä Dəngəl** (1563–1597)—He was the first Gondarine King.[127] His chronicle[128] states that he was crowned at Axum in 1563, although Munro-Hay (2006: 14) instead dates his coronation to 1579. The ritual was celebrated with a magnificent display, and the chronicler provides a fairly detailed account of it. He begins by telling us that the emperor sent a message to the priests of Axum, announcing that he was coming to celebrate the ceremonies of royalty before his mother Zion, the Ark of the God of Israel, as his fathers David and Solomon had done. When he arrived, he went to the church of Zion and the priests, deacons and *däbtära*s welcomed him warmly. They chanted for him the hymn of Yared: 'May may be blessed, O King of Israel'. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 267) describe his coronation.

Having proclaimed his lineage, he raised his sword and cut the cord that the maidens held. Then the two old women cried aloud, 'Truly, truly you are the king of Zion, son of David, the son of Solomon!' Then the priests of Zion began on chant in one side and the Daughters of Zion on the other side.

4) **Susneyos** (1607–1632)[129]—According to Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 267) Susneyos was the third king to undergo the ceremony at Axum. The Spaniard Paez records his coronation and notes:

126 The text goes: 'Again, there are at Aksum twelve stones, each with its color. The first is the stone of Kāleb; the second is the stone of Māya Bazo; the third is the stone of Nāḥso; the fourth is the stone of Mäzbər; the fifth is the stone of Aksum; the sixth is the stone of the resting-place (or, of the tomb); the seventh is the stone of Wagra Samarat; the eighth is the stone of Māya Kuakueḥ; the ninth is the Ṣēwa berānā; the tenth is the stone of Rom; the eleventh is the black stele; the twelfth is the white stele' (cited from Beckingham and Huntingford 1961, vol. 2: 522–523).

127 The Gondarine period extends from Śärṣä Dəngəl (1563–1597) to Täklä Giyorgis (1779–1784).

128 Composed by Wäldä Haymanot.

129 The Chronicle of Susneyos states that his reign lasted 28 years (cf. Pereira 1892: 335). Hence, his time must have been either (1604–1632) or (1607–1635). With regard to the composers of his chronicle, Ferenc (1985: 280–281) writes that 'It is the work of the three persons connected with the court, namely, Məhərka Dəngəl, Täklä Səllase called Ṭino, of Oromo descent, and an anonymous who continued the work after Ṭino's death'.

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> When Susneyos reached the place where the priests were waiting for him, two girls were holding a twisted rope by its ends. They asked the king who he was, and he replied that he was the king. The girls told him that he was not the king. He turned away and walked five or six steps, and then came back to them. The girls repeated the question, and asked whose king he was. He replied that he was the king of Israel, but the girls told him that he was not their king. He turned away again. When the girls asked him for a third time, he took hold of his sword and cut the rope, telling them that he was the king of Zion. The girls then proclaimed that he was in truth the king of Zion and should enter the city. All the people shouted, 'Long live the king of Zion!' and began to beat drums, blow trumpets, and fire their guns.[130]

The coronation of Emperor Susneyos was accompanied by great pageantry, the King arriving with some 25,000 army, riding a richly caparisoned steed, himself garbed in crimson damask with a golden chain around his neck.[131]

5) **Iyasu** I (1682–1706)—The great-grandson of Susneyos, Iyasu Adyam Säggäd, exercised a power over the priests of Zion, entering in person into the sanctuary in 1691 to see the *tabotä* Ṣəyon itself, as his chronicle states.[132]

6) **Yoḥannəs** IV (1872–1889)—The former Kasa Mərčča, later Yoḥannəs IV, was the last king to be crowned at Axum Zion; he is usually considered as a post-Solomonid king.[133] His chronicle tells us that he was devoted to Zion. Grierson and Munro-Hay (1999: 268) say:

> When he was ill, he 'put his hopes in his mother Zion'. His counselors prayed 'to God and to Our Lady Mary of Zion, the Ark of Law', and when he was cured, 'the singers of Zion, and the others, men and women, the old and the young, glorified Our Lady of Zion, for he was called the King of Zion'.[134]

Referring to the unpublished chronicle of Yoḥannəs IV, Orlowska (2006: 19–20) writes about his coronation that:

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130 Quoted from Grierson and Munro-Hay 1999: 267–268.

131 Cf. Pereira: 1892; Munro-Hay 1991: 130.

132 For a detailed account of his royal coronation related to the Ark of Zion, see Munro-Hay 2006: 135–138.

133 Cf. Munro-Hay 2004: 177.

134 See also Munro-Hay (2003: 183–185) and Munro-Hay (2006: 15).

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> The Debre Birhan Sillasē chroniclers tell us that 'the throne [*mänbär*], robe [*ləbsä mängəśt*], belt [*qənat*] and his shoes were of gold and silver'. They paint a very vivid picture of the crown, an important symbol and one of the key tools of enthronement. It was made of pure gold, decorated with diamonds that 'shone like lighting'. Having put on the 'clothes of government' Yohannis began singing for Tsiyon, which we are led to believe was to imitate the custom of David who 'sang in front of the Ark' … At the coronation he received a golden crown-like headdress (*ras wärq*). Interestingly, this head decoration was the same as the one assigned for the *nəburä əd* of Axum.

He performed the usual rite at Axum. Accompanied by the bishops and clergy, *abunä* Atnatewos completed the coronation prayer. The *abun* took the horn with the 'oil of the kingdom'[135] and poured it over Yoḥannəs' head. In this way Yoḥannəs IV took the title 'King of Kings of Ethiopia and King of Zion'.

2.2 *Ethiopian Royal Titles* (*Classical and Medieval Times*)

A brief discussion of Ethiopian royal titles can be useful for a wider outlook. Hence this section is intended to present the most famous royal titles from Axumite times until Yoḥannəs IV. Inscriptions play a crucial role for the reconstruction of Axumite history, especially to retrieve information about the Axumite rulers. Kobishchanov[136] describes the title of the king in the time of Axumites. He states:

> The title 'King of Axum' or 'King of the Axumites' was the basic title of the Axumite kings in all the periods. The latter form is usual in Greek[137] and Sabaean texts throughout the Axumite period.[138]

At the end of the 2nd cent. AD the title 'King of Kings' was used as the highest title of the most powerful eastern monarchs[139] with whom Axum developed commercial and other relations. On the other hand, some assume that Sem-

135 i.e. *Qəb'a Mangəśt*.

136 Fiaccadori (2007: 1163) also discusses this.

137 *Basileùs tôn Axomeítōn*, *Basileùs tôn Axomítōn*.

138 Cf. Kobishchanov 1979: 193–196. But for all royal Axumite inscriptions see now also Marrassini 2014a, pp. 170–171 for the royal Axumite titles in particular.

139 Northern India, the Persian empire, Armenia, Palmyra.

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bruthes[140] is the first Axumite 'king of kings'. Among the Axumite rulers, we know clearly the titles of ʿEzana,[141] Kaleb and WʿZB.

1) 'Ezana's titles as given on his pagan Greek inscription[142] are: 'Aeizanas, king of[143] the Aksumites, the Himyarites, Raeidan, the Ethiopians,[144] the Sabaeans, Silei (Salhen), Tiyamo,[145] the Beja and Kasou, King of Kings, son of the unconquered Ares'. The Epigraphic South Arabian version[146] presents the order as follows: Aksum, Himyar, Raydan, Habashat, Saba, Salhen, Tsiyamo, Kasu[147] and the Beja,[148] while the Geʿez version[149] reads Aksum, Himyar, Kasu, Saba, Habashat, Raydan, Salhen, Siyamo, Beja; both of these add the phrase 'King of Kings, son of the unconquered Maḥrem'. Munro-Hay suggests that the general outline of the majority of the inscriptional titularies seems to prescribe Axum, Arabia and Africa.[150] In other inscriptions of 'Ezana's he gives his affiliation to ƎllälʿAmida and the title *Bisi Halen* or *Alene*,[151] and mentions that he is the son of Ares/Maḥrem[152] or, in the case of his Christian inscription, 'the servant of Christ' (DAE vol. 4: no. 11).[153] Sergew (1972: 123), referring to the unpublished

140 After the Roman-Persian war of AD 296–297.

141 We also read the same title 'king' of Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa in MA as: 'Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa kings of Axum', and Gäbrä Mäsqäl also uses the title 'king' (cf. Conti Rossini 1909b: 18, 19).

142 *DAE* vol. 4: no. 4.

143 This is a *nota genitivi*. For a detailed treatment of *nota genitivi Zä- in* Epigraphic Gəʿəz, cf. Bulakh 2009: 393–419, here pp. 403 and 412–416.

144 Rendered as 'Habeshat' in the other inscriptions.

145 It is reported that Ṣəyamo was in the titulature of 'Ezana, Kaleb Ǝllälä Asbaha and WʿZB. Cf. Frantsouzoff 2010b: 645 on 'Ṣəyamo'. Weninger (2010: 79–80) argues that ጸ (ṣ) was an affricate in Axumite Gəʿəz and not a sibilant. Referring to the inscriptions, he states that the toponym Ṣəyamo (*RIÉ* no. 188:3; *RIÉ* no. 189:3; spelled Ṣəym in *RIÉ* nos. 185 I:2, II:2; *RIÉ* no. 185bis I:2; *RIÉ* no. 186:3; *RIÉ* no. 191:10; *RIÉ* no. 192:6) is spelled *Tiamō* in Greek (*RIÉ* no. 270:4; *RIÉ* no. 270bis:3; *RIÉ* no. 271:9). There can hardly be any doubt that τ represents the occlusive element of the affricate. So the probability that /ṣ/ was a glottalized alveolar affricate [ᵗS'] is very high.

146 *DAE* vol. 4: no. 6.

147 Munro-Hay (1991: 129) assumes that the Kasu are Cushites or Meroites. For Kobishchanov (1979: 194) this refers to the Meroitic Kingdom.

148 The Beja are the tribes of the Red Sea hills.

149 *DAE* vol. 4: no. 7.

150 Cf. Munro-Hay (1991: 127, 184).

151 Bowersock (2008: 384) states that *bəʾəsəyä ḫalen* is also found on 'Ezana's coins (in vocalized Geʿez).

152 The Greek version of the inscription reads 'Ares' while the Ethiopic says 'Maḥrem'.

153 Cf. Schneider 1974: 770.

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chronicle[154] with the royal title of ʿEzana, says that Tazena was his throne name. The text goes:

> ኤዛና፡ ወስመ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ታዜና፡ ወውእቱ፡ ሖረ፡ ሀገረ፡ ምሥራቅ፡ ወተጻብኣ፡ ምስለ፡ ህንድ፡ ሞያሙ፡ ወቀተሎሙ፡ ወማኅረከ፡ ሰብአሙ፡ ወንዋዮሙ፡ እስከ፡ ረሰዮሙ፡ ዘይጸብሑ፡ ሎቱ፡ ጸባሕተ።
>
> ʿEzana whose throne name [is] Tazena. And he went to the country of the east and fought with India. He conquered and killed them; and he captured their men and properties until he compelled them to pay tributes to him.
>
> Text, SERGEW 1972: 123; translation, mine

Fiaccadori (2007: 1163) asserts that the title *nəguśä nägäśt* is found in the vocalized inscription of ʿEzana, in which it refers either to him or to rulers subjected to him. Fiaccadori also states that *RIÉ* no. 185 *mlk mlkn* is a 'Pseudo-Sabaic' form of *nəguśä nägäśt* with an Ethiopicized plural ending.

2) Kaleb's inscription gives the protocol 'Kaleb ƎllÄ Aṣbəḥa, son of Tazena, Bisi Lazen, king of Aksum, Ḥimyar, Ḏū Raydān, Saba, Salḥen, the High Country and Yamanat, the Coastal Plain, Ḥaḍramawt, and all their Arabs, the Beja, Noba,[155] Kasu, Ṣəyamo, DRBT … and the land of AṬFY (?), servant of Christ'.[156] Bausi (2007: 1121) quotes the epigraphic titular of Kaleb as: KLB/ʾL ʾṢBḤ WLD TZN/B'S LZN; here ʾL ʾṢBḤ is the personal name of the king and WLD TZN is his patronymic name.

3) WʿZB gives his title in his inscription as: 'Son of ƎllÄ Aṣbəḥa, Bisi Ḥadefan'[157] and 'Servant of Christ'. He also uses the epitaph 'King of Axum and Ḏū Raydān[158] and Saba and Salḥen and Beja and Kasu and Ṣiamo[159] and Waitag (?),

154 Property of *qesä gäbäz* Täklä Haymanot of Axum, page (folio?) 54.

155 Noba may be the people of the Nubian Kingdom.

156 Cf. Schneider 1973: 385–389. See also Kobishchanov 1979: 194; Munro-Hay 1991: 127–128.

157 Andrea Manzo (1995: 74) proposes the reading of this title of WʿZB as B'S ḤDQN instead of ḤDFN.

158 During the time of Kaleb and his son WʿZB, the use of the term Raydān reflects the submission of the Ḥimyarite kingdom to Axum after the defeat of the Jewish king Ḏū Nuwās. Abraha (an Ethiopian who ruled over the Ḥimyarite) also adopted the very long titulary including Ḏū Raydān; (cf. Frantsouzoff 2010a: 340).

159 Munro-Hay 1991: 128 reads it as 'Tsiyamo'. Probably it indicates the present location between Lake Tana and Lake Ḥayq (Kobishchanov 1979: 223).

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the slave of Christ'.[160] Munro-Hay (1991: 128) adds Ḥimyar, Kāsu, and WYTG as royal titles of WʿZB.

The titulary protocol of an Axumite king thus consisted of several separate elements: the personal name, the *Ǝllä*-name, the *Bisi*-name, a human or divine filiation, certain epithets, and then the enumeration of territories. The personal name is often, in the case of the Christian kings, a biblical name. The name preceded by *Ǝllä*-, meaning 'he who …', is an epithet, probably employed after the king's accession or coronation as his regnal title or throne name. Conti Rossini (1909a: 34–37) gives a list of about 16 Axumite royal names with *Ǝllä*.[161] The *Bisi*-element, meaning 'man of …', may refer to a clan division in the royal family, or possibly to a military regiment with which he was especially connected.[162] On the other hand, Munro-Hay (1991: 128) refers to François de Blois on the title 'Bisi-' in the Axumite period and suggests that the clan system in ancient Axum was maternal, so that each successive ruler bore his mother's clan-name. These clans were also the basis of the military organization, hence the coincidence of certain *Bisi*-names with certain regimental names. Bausi (2007: 1121) states that it probably shows a 'matronymic' or 'matrilinear clanic' name. Conti Rossini (1909a: 31) gives the name of Bazen as ብእሴ፡ ባዜን፡.

Royal titles were also used by the Zagʷe kings,[163] though not as elaborate as those of the Axumites. Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase (1928/1929 [EC 1921]: 50) says that Zagʷe is the throne name of King Märra Täklä Haymanot (919/920–932/933),[164] who was the founder of the dynasty. The most famous and saintly king of the Zagʷe dynasty, Lalibäla (late 12th–early 13th cent. AD), had two throne names: *Gäbrä Mäsqäl* 'servant of the Cross' and *Bəʾəsi Azzal* 'the strong man'.[165] Munro-

160 Cf. Kobishchanov 1979: 194; Schneider 1974: 777–778, 780.

161 Kaleb's name 'Ǝllä Aṣbəḥa', for instance, means 'He who brought forth the dawn' (cf. Munro-Hay 1991: 128).

162 The *Bisi*-title is not given for all kings, but is attested from Endybis to WʿZB, a period of over two hundred and fifty years, and later for Lalibäla (cf. Munro-Hay 1991: 128).

163 Ḫəruy (1921) transmits the tradition how power was transferred from Axum (which was in the Solomonid line since Mənilək I) to Zagʷe. Märra Täklä Haymanot took it illegitimately from Dəlnäʾad. The new dynasty was called Zagʷe (allegedly composed from two Geʿez words: *zä* + *agʷəyäyä* 'the one who causes a flight') and they ruled Ethiopia for 11 generations and 333 years (Həruy 1921: 47–51). Budge (1928: 214) records the tradition that the Zagʷe kings were eleven (however, Judith/Gudit is not in the list) and the dynasty lasted for a period of 354 years (cf. also Budge 1933: xlii). Basset (1882: 9), on the other hand, writes that 11 kings reigned over 350 years. See also Perruchon on Lalibäla, 1892: 4–5; Taye 1921/1922 [EC 1914]: 59. But see now Fiaccadori 2014.

164 Ḫəruy gives his time as (EC 912–925).

165 The title *Bəʾəsi*— 'man of'—is the Axumite type and *azzal* has the meaning 'strong', 'brave',

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Hay (1991: 129) mentions him as 'Lalibela son of Shanuda', namely 'Lalibäla son of the Lion'.

Gädlä Lalibäla gives the coronation and royal name of Lalibäla as follows:

> **ወነሥአ፡ ንጉሥ፡ መላጼ፡ በእዴሁ፡ ወቀረጸ፡ ሥዕርቶ፡ ለላሊበላ። ወአንበሮ፡ ዲበ፡ መንበረ፡ መንግሥት፡ ወአየደ** [sic]**፡ ዓዋዴ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ነግሠ፡ ላሊበላ፡ በፈቃደ፡ እግዚአብሔር። … ወሰመዮ፡ እኁሁ፡ ስመ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ በከመ፡ ሰመዮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይንበር፡ ዲበ፡ መንበረ፡ መንግሥት።**
>
> And the king took a blade in his hand and shaved Lalibela's hair. And he seated him on the royal throne and the herald sent him around while saying '[Behold] Lalibela reigns by the will of the Lord' … And his brother named him with the royal name Gäbrä Mäsqäl as the Lord named him before he sat upon the royal throne.
>
> Text, PERRUCHON 1892: 43–44; translation, mine

Another Zag^{w}e king Yəmrəḥannä Krəstos, followed the same tradition. His *Gädl* states that will be David his throne name:

> **ወዘንተ፡ ብሂሎ፡ መድኀኒነ፡ ቀብአ፡ ቅብአ፡ መንግሥት፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅዱሳት። ወሰመዮ፡ ስመ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ይኩን፡ ስመ፡ መንግሥትከ፡ ዳዊት፡ በከመ፡ ዳዊት፡ ምዕመንየ፡ ዘከመ፡ ልብየ።**
>
> After saying this, Our Savior anointed him with royal ointment with His Holy hands saying 'Let your throne name be David, as David is my faithful lone just like My Heart'.
>
> Text, MARRASSINI 1995: 31; translation, mine

According to Ḫəruy Wäldä Śəllase (1928/1929 [EC 1921]: 60) and Taye (1921/1922 [EC 1914]: 59), the last Zag^{w}e king and son of Lalibäla, Yətbaräk (1234/1235–1252/1253)[166] was named Ǝlmäknun.[167]

'courageous', etc. (for the etymology of *azzal*, refer to Leslau 1987: 52). Bausi (2007: 1122) also states that the *bə'əsi*-element reappears in the early 13th cent. feudal deeds of *aṣe* Lalibäla, who is styled as *bə'əsi ʿazal* in two documents of the Golden Gospel of Däbrä Libanos. He also says that the *bə'əsi ʿazal* epithet was later used by the chronicler for 'Amdä Ṣəyon (cf. Marrassini 1993: 46 f.; Kropp 1994: 48 text, 52 trans.). For a brief note on 'Pre-Aksumite and Aksumite names' cf. Bausi 2007: 1120–1122.

166 EC 1237–1245. But ca. AD 1240(?)–1268 according to Marrassini 2014b.

167 But the king list as given by Bruce makes Nä'akk^{w}ətο Lä'ab the last Zag^{w}e king and puts Yətbaräk prior to Lalibäla (cf. Budge 1928: 218).

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The **Solomonid** kings are known by their coronation ritual, which the Axumites did not have. On the contrary, the later royals exploited the religious and historical prestige of Axum Zion by making it their ceremonial coronation site.

We know that ʿAmdä Ṣəyon was named Gäbrä Mäsqäl.[168] We also read from Basset (1882: 12) that Nañ was used as the royal name during the time of the successors of King Dawit (1380–1412).[169] The third son of Dawit—Täklä Maryam, who reigned for four years—was given the throne name Ḥəzb Nañ.[170] The first son and successor of Ḥəzb Nañ was Śärwe Iyäsus. His throne name was Məhərka Nañ. ʿAmdä Iyäsus, the second son of Ḥəzb Nañ, was given the name Bädəl Nañ.

The title 'King of Kings', already in use since Axumite times,[171] continued in the middle ages and in modern times until the end of the Solomonid dynasty in 1974. Fiaccadori (2007: 1164) mentions that the title *nəguśä nägäśt zä'ityoṗya* ('king of kings of Ethiopia') was interchangeable with the simpler *nəguśä ityoṗya* ('king of Ethiopia') and especially later *aṣe* and *yähabäša nəguś* during the Era of the Princes.

As an Ethiopian royal tradition, Emperors must undergo the rite of taking a second royal or throne name after their coronation which was performed in the presence of Axumite elders. Evidently, the rite of vow-taking was performed to complete the ceremony.[172] It consisted of the emperor pulling out one of the three small lots with royal names marked on them, taking the name thus chosen.[173] Significantly, all three of these royal names belonged to legendary monarchs of the Axumite period: Gäbrä Mäsqäl, to whom the establishment of the rite is attributed; Dawit (who is also Mənilək), the son of Solomon; and Qʷäsṭänṭinos (Constantine), whose reign was especially prolonged. Let us read the chronicle:

> **ወአምጽኡ፡ ዕፃ፡ ፫፡ በከመ፡ ሕጎሙ፡ በዘይሰምይ፡ ስመ፡ መንግሥት፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ገብረ፡ መስቀል፡ ወዳዊት፡ ወቈስጠንጢኖስ። ወወጽአ፡ ዕፃ፡ አሜሃ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ሰሙ** [sic]**፡ ዳዊት። ወሰመይ፡ እንበይነዝ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ በእደ፡ ማርያም፡ ዳዊት።**

168 Cf. Perruchon 1889: 279.

169 Taddesse (1972: 220, note 2) states that Dawit's children were born of different women.

170 The first kings' list of Conti Rossini (1909a: 16) gives this name with different variants during the Axumite period: **ሕዝብ፡ ይናኒ፣ ሕዝብ፡ ናኘ፣ ሕዝብ፡ ናኒ፣ ሕዝበ፡ ናይ፡** .

171 Cf. Kobishchanov 1979: 195.

172 Participation in the rite of vow-taking was the privilege of 12 lawyers, the descendants of the Axumite tribal aristocracy. At other rites of coronation, two or three of the king's attendants could also attend (cf. Kobishchanov 1979: 203; Perruchon 1893: 145; Turaev 1936: 89, 103, 104).

173 The three names are: Gäbrä Mäsqäl, Dawit and Qʷäsṭänṭinos.

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> And they brought three lots according to their law, in order to give the throne name: who are Gäbrä Mäsqäl, Dawit and Qʷäsṭänṭinos. And the lot was drawn that time, that his name should be Dawit. And therefore they gave the name Dawit to King Bä'ədä Maryam.
>
> Text, PERRUCHON 1893: 124; translation, mine

The Solomonid kings also used these three royal names. In some cases, they used double throne names.[174] Emperor Zär'a Yaʿəqob, for instance, is named Qʷäsṭänṭinos. He calls himself **አነ፡ ዘርዓ፡ ያዕቆብ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወልደ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወስመ፡ መንግሥትየ፡ ቈስጠንጢኖስ፡** 'I, King Zär'a Yaʿəqob, son of David, and my throne name is Qʷäsṭanṭinos'.[175] Medieval Ethiopian kings added *Säggäd* to their throne names[176] in addition to their baptismal name of an explicitly Christian nature, a so-called regnal name, the **ስመ፡ መንግሥት፡**, which emphasized their worldly competence. Kleiner (2004: 53–73), in his article on 'Säggäd', rejects Kropp's view (1988)[177] and claims that *Säggäd* is an apocopated form of *sägädä* 'prostrate oneself, show submission'. Täklä Ṣadəq (1960/1961 [EC 1953]: 86–87) mentions that Bä'ədä Maryam chose from three lots of wood inscribed with possible names: he selected from among Dawit, Gäbrä Mäsqäl and Qʷäsṭänṭinos.[178] MA states royal names of Ləbnä Dəngəl as: **አነ፡ ወናግ፡ ሰገድ፡ ወስመ፡ መንግሥትየ፡ ልብነ፡ ድንግል፡** 'I Wänag[179] Säggäd, and my throne name is Ləbnä Dəngəl'. He also used King of Kings Dawit as his second throne name.[180] King Gälawdewos was named Aṣnaf Säggäd;[181] he himself states that Gälawdewos is his baptismal name.[182] Minas, who ruled for four years (1559–1563), took Admas Säggäd as his royal name. Śärṣä Dəngəl (1563–1597) succeded Minas with Mäläk Säggäd as his royal name. Śəlṭan Säggäd was Susneyos' royal name (1604–1632) and his son Fasil (1632–1667) was named ʿAläm Säggäd. A'əlaf Säggäd was the

174 Ləbnä Dəngəl, Bäkaffa and Iyasu II, for instance, had double royal names. Täklä Haymanot I (1706–1708) had three royal names.

175 Conti Rossini 1909b: 25, 26, 78.

176 From Ləbnä Dəngəl (1508–1540) to Ǝgʷalä Ṣəyon or Gʷalu (1801–1811). An exception is *aṣe* Naʿod's throne name, Anbäsa Bäḍär 'A lion agaist the enemy' (cf. Kleiner 2007: 1122). Täklä Ṣadəq (1960/1961 [EC 1953]: 86–87), on the other hand, mentions that such a title was used from the time of Zär'a Yaʿəqob until the time of Täfṣametä Mängəśt Täklä Giyorgis.

177 Kropp (1988), following Ludolf (1681), translates the term *Säggäd* as 'venerated'.

178 See also Munro-Hay 2004: 181.

179 Wänag means 'lion' (Basset 1882: 13, Budge 1928: 325).

180 Cf. Conti Rossini 1909b: 29–42.

181 Cf. Basset 1882: 18.

182 Conti Rossini 1909b: 42–43.

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throne name of Yoḥannəs I (1667–1682) and his son Iyasu the Great (1682–1706) was given the name Adyam Säggäd. Täklä Haymanot I (1706–1708) had three royal names: Lə'ul Säggäd, Gərum Säggäd and Abrak Säggäd. Tewoflos (1708–1711) preferred the name Aḍrar Säggäd and his successor Yosṭos (1711–1716) was called Ḍäḥay Säggäd. Adbar Säggäd was the name of Dawit III (1716–1721). Aṣmä Giyorgis, who is known by the name Bäkaffa 'inexorable' (1721–1730), had two throne names called Mäśiḥ Säggäd and Adbar Säggäd II. His son and successor Iyasu II (1730–1755) had two throne names: Bərhan Säggäd and Adyam Säggäd II.[183] *ʾAṣe* or *ʾAṣege* also *Ḥaṣe* or *Ḥaṣege*[184] was the royal title of the Solomonid (both Shoan and Gonderine) Kings.

3 *Gäbäzä Aksum*

The term *Gäbäzä Aksum* is applied to the Ark of the Covenant and it also alludes to St. Mary.[185] Dillmann (1865: 1174) gives different applications of the term and defines *Gäbäz* as an epithet for the cathedral of Axum. According to Leslau (1987: 180), *Gäbäz* means watch, keeper, overseer, administrator of a church, sacristan. Schneider (1974: 776–777) notes that the epithet *Gäbäz* appears in the 6th-century inscription of Kaleb referring to the Church of Axum. Alvares (vol. 1: 151, note 2) writes: 'In the charters, it is called either simply Gabaza Aksum, 'Cathedral of Aksum' or else by an epithet which includes the name of the Virgin Mary Seyon the Mother of God'. Munro-Hay (2006: 101, 166) takes the term *Gabaza Aksum* as 'Cathedral of Aksum' and mentions the land grant of Anbäsa Wədəm, a supposed predecessor of the formidable Yodit/Gudit, which employs the designation *Ṣəyon gäbäzä Aksum*, 'Zion, Cathedral of Axum' or *Ǝmmənä Ṣəyon, gäbäzä Aksum*, 'our mother Zion, the cathedral of Axum'. Similarly Munro-Hay (1991: 172) defines the term as: 'Gäbäz referring to a church or holy place', by which is meant a 'Cathedral'. *Nəburä əd* Bälay agrees with this etymology.[186] Getatchew Haile (2010/2011 [EC 2003]: 57, note 3) applies in his Amharic translation of *Gädlä Ǝsṭifanos* uses the term **አክሱም፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡**

183 For a general understanding of the royal titles and ceremony, cf. Perruchon 1893: 3, 124, Turaev 1936: 88, Kobishchanov 1979: 203, Munro-Hay 1991: 127 ff. See also Basset 1882: 23–70; Budge 1928.

184 *Ḥaṣe* Dawit, *Ḥaṣe* Zär'a Ya'əqob, *Ḥaṣe* Minas, *aṣe* Fasil, etc. (cf. Conti Rossini 1909b: 22, 27). For a brief note on *aṣe*, cf. Nosnitsin 2003: 364–365.

185 Furthermore, the term may signify that she is the Ark, in whose womb the Word, Christ, was carried, and by extension the Zion church of Axum (cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 101).

186 Interviewed Dec. 6, 2010.

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'Church of Axum'. Monneret de Villard (1938: 21–31, here p. 21) states about the Axumite Cathedral of St. Mary as *Madre di tutte le Chiese d'Abissinia* 'Mother of all churches of Ethiopia'.

MA commences with the epithet: **ከመዝአ፡ ጥንተ፡ ሡራሬሃ፡ ለእምነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ገበዘ፡ አክሱም።** 'The origin of the foundation of Our Mother Zion, Cathedral of Axum, is like this' (text, Conti Rossini 1909b: 3).[187] Lusini (2005: 95), referring to Littmann and Krencker (1906: 3) and Lensi (1937), asserts that Axum is the mother of the Ethiopian towns—both because of its antiquity and because of the presence in Axum of the main sanctuary of the Ethiopian Christianity, the *Gäbäzä Axum*. He also says that the reconstruction of the Cathedral of Axum can be assigned an old date, probably to the years of Kaleb. The title *Gäbäz*, as attested from the inscription of Kaleb, appears in royal names. The common examples are: Ǝllä Gäbäz (successor of Kaleb)[188] and Tərda' Gäbäz.[189]

4 *Mäṣḥafä Aksum* (MA)

Mäṣḥafä Aksum 'Book of Axum' (also called *Liber Axumae*) is one of the most renown texts of Ethiopian historiography. It is believed that MA was written before the destruction of the old Maryam Ṣəyon church in 1535, perhaps in the later 15th century AD.[190] However, Munro-Hay argues, 'Many documents in surviving copies are much later'.[191] He also mentions its importance: the 'Book of Axum' is one of the three books discussing Axum Zion before the destruction by Aḥmed Grañ. The other two sources are 'Prester John of the Indies' by Francisco Alvares and the Arabic *Futūḥ al-Ḥabaša*, a chronicle of Aḥmed Grañ's virtual conquest of Ethiopia. The earliest attestable date for a tiny part of MA (the description of the church) comes from the early 17th century, when Péro Paez translated it.

Munro-Hay (2006: 102) says that the book sometimes is found as an appendix and a supplement attached to copies of the KN, whereas according to Lusini (2003: 185) MA is a composite work together with KN.[192] Munro-Hay (2006: 243,

187 For his French translation of the sentence, cf. Conti Rossini (1910: 3).

188 Lusini (2005: 96, here note 18) gives the dates as follows: Kaleb (ca. 510–530), Ǝllä Gäbäz (ca. 530–534), W'ZB/Gäbrä Mäsqäl (ca. 534–548).

189 According to Conti Rossini (1921–1923: 374–375) *Tərda' Gäbäz* is a feminine name.

190 Lusini (2003: 185) assumes that date for the first section of the work is during the time of *aṣe* Zär'a Ya'əqob (1434–1468).

191 Cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 100.

192 He presents MS Paris, BnF, d'Abbadie 97, as an example.

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note 86) notes that some scholars[193] refer to the whole of the *Kəbrä Nägäśt* as *Mäṣḥafä Aksum*, but Conti Rossini employed the term *Liber Axumae* only for three separate sections, distinct from the narrative of the KN.

MA is arranged in three parts:[194]

1) A description of the city with details about the church (including information about the historical topography of Axum and some of the stelae; an architectural description of the church; lists of services and offerings from various individuals);
2) Copies of land grants to the church (containing 103 historical and legal texts);
3) A number of supplementary historical and legal documents (14 miscellaneous historical and legal texts).

It was edited[195] and translated by Conti Rossini (text, 1909b and translation, 1910), and Alvares included part of MA in his second book.[196] Bausi (2006b) published an index to the book based on *Liber Axumae* of Conti Rossini.

193 viz. Paez, Bruce and Dillmann.
194 Cf. Lusini 2003: 185.
195 Based on five manuscripts.
196 Cf. Beckingham and Huntingford 1961: 521–525.

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CHAPTER 3

Discussion and Analysis

This chapter presents the analysis of DṢ in two subsections: first philological issues, then linguistic findings.

1 Philological Issues

In one sense 'Philology' means 'Textual Criticism'.[1] Philological findings basically rely on processing linguistic documents. Emphasizing this Bausi (2010: 142) remarks that this processing is the specific feature of Philology and is accomplished at the highest level by text editing, i.e. by textual criticism.[2] It takes into consideration the entire body of evidence pertaining to the text, not just stemmatical, or codicological and paleographical evidence; but also historical, linguistic, literary, religious, institutional, social, etc. This section (1.1) deals with major philological aspects of DṢ. We begin with description of the manuscripts, followed by textual arrangement and analysis of DṢ, concluding with the stemmatical findings and the family tree.

1.1 *Description of the Manuscripts*[3]

Ten witnesses (manuscripts) of DṢ were collected for this research project.[4] The siglum assigned to each manuscript was basically given by taking the initial letter of the parish church or province where it was found. For a few of manuscripts the code was given arbitrarily. In this section, the physical description, content, *incipit* and peculiar features of all the manuscripts will be analyzed.

1 Cf. Bausi 2006a and 2008.

2 Bausi in turn quotes Humboldt 1836: 202.

3 Brief description of the consulted manuscripts and philological analysis of DṢ is published by the author (Amsalu Tefera 2011b: 141–166). Cf. also Amsalu Tefera 2014a: 304–305, Amsalu Tefera 2014b.

4 There is seemingly one more manuscript, but it is mislabeled. The paper list for EMML 7320 entitles the text DṢ, but it is actualy a Miracle of Mary, not DṢ.

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1.1.1 **A** = Axum[5]

Place: Axum, Treasury (*ʾəqa bet*) of Axum Zion, under the Ark chapel (*Ṣəllat bet*).—Size: 365 (height) × 280 (width) mm.—Columns: three.—Language: Gəʿəz.—Material: vellum, bound in stamped leather, covered with leather and *suti* cloth.—Folios: viii+172+viii.—Number of lines: 22.—Date: EC 1925 (= AD 1932/1933).

> *Inc.*: **በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ፩፡ አምላክ፡ በስመ፡ ክስብኤል፡ ወቢቃ፡ ወአካዕ። ዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ምስጢር፡ ኀቡዕ፡ በታዕካ፡ ሰማይ፡ ልኩዕ። ዘኢይትአመር፡ ክዋኔሁ፡ በኀሊና፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ ዘኢይትወቀር፡ በጉድበ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ወዘኢይትመዋዕ፡ ለጸብእ። ጌርጌላሁ፡ ለንጹሰ፡ ወደብተራሁ፡ ሥሩዕ። ...**
>
> In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit One God. In the name of Kəsbəʾel, Beqa and of Akaʿ. This is a hidden secret which is fastened to the throne of heaven, whose essence is not known either by the minds of angels or of men, which is not hewn by the axe of the wicked, and is not defeated in war. His wheel is a [guiding] lamp and His tabernacle is [well] ordered ...

Varia: A round stamp containing the name of *nəburä əd* Arägay appears on the first and last folios. **Special features:** The manuscript divides the proper name **ኢሎፍሊ፡** 'Philistines' into two words: **ኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡** [§46] (twice) and **ለኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡** [§47]. Interestingly, this reflects the correct division of the underlying Greek term *alló-phyloi* '(of) another tribe, foreign' which is used for 'Philistines' in the Septuagint.

1.1.2 **B** = ∃nṭoṭṭo

Place: Addis Ababa, ∃nṭoṭṭo St. Mary Church. I got a photocopy from Tesfaye Yihune, Addis Ababa.—Size: 200 × 300 mm.—Columns: two.—Language: Bilingual; Geʿez (first column) and Amharic translation (second column).—Material: paper.—Folios: 231, page numbers are written on the photocopy (461 pages).—Number of lines: 29–30 per each page.—Date: not dated, but we can assume 20th cent. AD.

> *Inc.*: **በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ፩አምላክ፡ በስመ፡ ክስብኤል፡ ወቢቃ፡ ወአካዕ። ዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ምስጢር፡ ኀቡዕ፡ በታዕካ፡ ሰማይ፡ ልኩዕ። ዘኢይተአመር፡**

5 N.B. This is not the only version of DṢ at Axum. It is however, the only one that I had access to.

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(sic) ክዋኔሁ፡ በኀሊና፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ ዘኢይትወቀር፡ በጕድበ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ወዘኢይትመዋዕ፡ ለጸብእ። …

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit One God. In the name of Kəsbə'el, Beqa and of Akaʿ. This is a hidden secret which is fastened to the throne of heaven, whose essence is not known either by the minds of angels or of men, which is not hewn by the axe of the wicked, and is not defeated in war …

Special features: [B] often writes out the ending -(*t*)*u*, -(*t*)*ä* when giving numbers;[6] similarly ፪ኤ፡ for ክልኤ፡ 'two' and ፳ራ፡ for ዕሥራ፡ 'twenty'. E.g.: ፩ዱ፡ [§3] ፲ቱ፡ [§15], ፪ቱ፡ [§18] ፲ቱ፡ ወለለ፩ዱ፡ ፳ወ፴ተ፡ ፬ቱ፡ (twice) [§19], ፩ዱ፡ (twice) [§20], ፳ወ፱ቱ፡ ወ፲ቱ፡ ወ፯ቱ፡ ፻ት፡ ወ፼ወ፩ቱ፡ [§21], ፲ተ፡ ወ፪ተ፡ (twice) [§29], ዕልፈ፡ ወ፳፻ተ፡ [§32], ፲ቱወ፪ቱ፡ [§36], ፬ተ፡ ፻ተ፡ [§45], ፪ኤ፡ [§55], ፮ተ፡ [§61], ፩ቱ፡ [§66], ወ፲ቱ፡ [§69], ፩ቱ፡ ወ፩ዱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ ወ፫ቱ፡ ወ፬ቱ፡ ወ፭ቱ፡ [§70], ፩ተ፡ ዕልፈ፡ ወ፼ዓ፡ [§72], ፯ቱ፡ ፹፡ [§75], በ፯ቱ፡ [§80], በ፬ቱ፡ [§86], ፸ዓ፡ ወ፳ራ፡ ፳ወ፩ቱ፡ ፳ራ፡ [§87], ፪ተ፡ ፲ቱ፡ (twice) ወ፪ቱ፡ (thrice) [§88], ፩ዱ፡ [§88], ወ፪ኤ፡ [§89], ፪ተ፡ [§90], ፲ቱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ [§91], ፸ዓ፡ ለ፲ቱ፡ [§92], ፪ቱ፡ (twice) [§94], ወ፪ኤ፡ (twice) [§95], ወ፲ቱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ (twice), ፲ቱ፡ ፬ቱ፡ (twice) [§97], ፲ቱ፡ [§98], ፳ራ፡ ፳ራኤል፡ [§101], ፪ኤ፡ [§102], ፪ተ፡ ፹ፈ፡ ወ፻ተ፡ [§104], ፬ተ፡ ፻ተ፡ ወ፳ራ፡ ፸ዓ፡ [§110], ፬ተ፡ ፻ተ፡ ወ፳ራ፡ [§111], ፬ቱ፡ [§113], ፩ዱ፡ [§114], ፩ዱ፡ [§117], ፩ዱ፡ [§118], ፲ቱ፡ በ፪ኤ፡ [§127], ወ፪ቱ፡ [§132], ፯ቱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ [§133], በ፪ኤ፡ [§135].

1.1.3 **C** = NL 273

Place: Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency (NALA), in the manuscripts section. Though this manuscript is not found in the inventory list of the Agency (*Catalogue* 1969/1970 [EC 1962]), it is included in the card catalogue.—Size: 140×100 mm.—Column: one.—Language: Geʿez.—Material: vellum, wooden cover with three layers of *suti* cloth.—Folios: vi+51+vi.[7]—Number of lines: 14 lines.—Scribe: Wäldä Mäsqäl; owner of the manuscript: *abba* Ğärom Gäbrä Muse.—Date: 15th cent. AD.[8]

Inc.: በስመ፡ ክስብኤል፡ [ወ]ቤቃ፡ ወአካዕ፡ ዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ምሥጢር፡ ኀቡዕ፡ በታዕካ፡ ሰማያት፡ ልኩዕ፡ ዘኢይኤመር፡ ክዋኔሁ፡ በሕሊና፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ ዘኢይትወቀር፡

6 The printed text [P] follows the same style.

7 The NALA description in the card catalogue says 78 ff.

8 From a paleographic point of view, MS [C] is grouped under Uhlig's period III—the rounded script (mid 15th–mid-16th century AD). For general features of Ethiopic scripts of this period, see Uhlig 1990: 55–70; 1988.

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በጉድበ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ወኢይትመዋዕ፡ ለፀብዕ፡ ጌርጌላሁ፡ ለንጻስ፡ ወደባትሪሁ፡ ሥሩዕ፡ ወመብረቀ፡ (sic) ዓውዱ፡ ወአፍራሲሁኒ፡ አርባዕ። ...

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit One God. In the name of Kəsbə'el, Beqa and of Akaʿ. This is a hidden secret which is fastened to the throne of heaven, whose essence is not known either by the minds of angels or of men, which is not hewn by the axe of the wicked, and is not defeated in war. His wheel is a [guiding] lamp and His tabernacle is [well] ordered ... The lightning is around and as for His horses [they] are four ...

Special features: Different subsections are labeled with the name of Moses (f. 1^{r}); of Joshua (f. 7^{r}); of Samuel (f. 12^{r}); of David (f. 21^{r}); of Solomon (f. 24); of Zechariah (f. 38^{r}). [C] Uses the plural form of the adjective **ኢሎፍላውያን፡** for Philistines.[9] All the other manuscripts, however, have the singular form (**ኢሎፍሊ፡**). For the two sons of the priest Eli (1Sam. 1:3), who in Hebrew are Ḥofni and Pinḥas, the name 'Ḥofni' is usually rendered in Gəʿəz as **አፍኒን፡** (with an extra *-n*); but this non-etymological *-n* is absent in MS [C]. Thus **አፍኒ፡ ወፊንሐስ፡** instead of **አፍኒን፡ ወፊንሐስ፡** in [§ 50]. It uses the spelling **አቢደራ፡** [§ 79] (three times) instead of **አቢዳራ፡** in the other manuscripts.

From an orthographic point of view, there is little difference between **ን** (*nə*) and **ገ** (*gä*) in the entire manuscript **ረ** (*rä*) and **ፈ** (*fä*) are written in the form of triangle, pointed to the left side. **ደ** (*dä*) has a long head. **ደ** (*dä*) and **የ** (*yä*) are written in a more rounded way towards their head. **ገ** (*gä*) and **ነ** (*nä*) have a long tail. **ኀ** (*ḫa*) and **ደ** (*dä*) have a long head in the 4th order. The sublinear diacritical marks of 6th order of **ሠ** (*śä*), **መ** (*mä*) and the 7th order of **ወ** (*wä*) are small and pointed towards the left. In the 7th order of **ቀ** (*qä*), the vertical bar is connected to the ring at the mid-center, not towards the left of the ring. In the name **እግዚአብሔር፡** *gä sadəs* (**ግ**) and *zä śaləs* (**ዘ**) are written with a ligature in most cases.[10]

1.1.4 D = NL 630

Place: Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency (NALA). It comprises both *Tarikä Nägäśt* and *Dərsanä Ṣəyon* in one volume. Pages are numbered continuously from 1–127, but not starting from the first folio, so that it is possible to refer to it either by page numbers or by folios. Like the previous MS

9 Cf. [§ 46] (twice), [§ 47], [§ 48] and [§ 52].

10 Cf. Dillmann 1907: 22.

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[C], this manuscript is not found in the inventory list of the Agency, and not in the card catalogue either.[11] It is found in the printed list of NALA.[12]—Size: 200×300 mm.—Columns: two.—Language: Gəʿəz.—Material: vellum, bound with stamped leather.—Folios: 68 (ff. 4^{r}–40^{r} *Tarikä Nägäst*; ff. 41^{r}–59^{v} *Dərsanä Ṣəyon*; ff. 59^{v}–64^{r} *Zena Ṣəyon*).—Number of lines: 20–23.—Scribe: two names are mentioned: Wäldä Rufa'el and *Qes* Gälaw Biyadgəlläññ Zä-Gondär. Wäldä Rufa'el would probably be the first copyist, *Qes* Gälaw the re-copier of DṢ in the National Library.—Date: EC 1977 (= AD 1984/1985).

> *Inc*.: (of *Zena Ṣəyon*)[13] ዓዲ፡ እጽሕፍ፡ ዜና፡ ዕበያ፡ ወክብራ፡ ወውዳሴሃ፡ ወንግሣ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እንዘ፡ እብል፡ መኑ፡ ይክል፡ ይትናገር፡ ክብራ፡ ለደብተራ፡ ዘገብረ፡ ሙሴ፡ በ(59va)ደብረ፡ ሲና። ገብራ፡ በስብሐት፡ በከመ፡ ነገሮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወአርአዮ፡ ኵሎ፡ ምሳሌያተ፡ ሰማያዊተ። …
>
> Once again, I will write the news of the greatness, honor, praise and majesty of Zion, saying 'Who shall be able to speak the honor of the Tabernacle, that Moses made on Mount (59va) Sinai?' He made Her in praise as the Lord had told him, and He had shown him all the heavenly parables …

1.1.5 **F** = EMML 8823[14]

Place: Fogära, near Däbrä Tabor, Bäbbäks, Däbrä Gännät St. Mary Church.—Size: 182×225 mm.—Columns: two.—Language: Geʿez.—Material: vellum, wooden boards.—Folios: 30+vii (ff. 1ra–20^{rb} *DṢ*; ff. 20va–30^{rb} *Täʾammära Maryam*).—Number of lines: 18.—Scribe: Wäldä Gäbrəʾel.—Date: 19th cent. AD.

> *Inc*. (of *Täʾammära Maryam*): ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስለ። … ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። ስምዑ፡ እነግረክሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ጥንተ፡ ሙላዳ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ፀወንኒ፡ አመ፡ ጸመ፡ ሙሴ፡ ፴፡ መዓልተ፡ ወ፴፡ ሌሊተ፡ በደብረ፡ ሲና። (f. 20va) …
>
> Miracle of our Lady Virgin Saint Mary, Mother of God; May Her prayer and blessings be with … forever and ever Amen. Listen, I will tell you, O

11 The card catalogue contains only the first 617 items.

12 Which contains 825 manuscripts.

13 The *incipit* of DṢ in all families is similar to the above manuscripts (A, B and C). Therefore, in our descriptions of the manuscripts below, we shall give the *inc*. of the attached *News of Zion*, *Miracles of Zion* and *Effigy of Zion*.

14 EMML copy of this document is found at St. John's University, Collegeville, MN.

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> Christian people. The beginning of the genealogy of Zion, our refuge, [is] at the time when Moses fasted for forty days and forty nights at Mount Sinai …

Special feature: It divides the name **ፍሬ፡ ምናጦስ፡** 'Frumentius' (ff. 27va, 27^{vb}, 28va, 28^{vb} (twice)), which is normally considered as one word: **ፍሬምናጦስ።**

1.1.6 **K** = EMML 8429[15]

Place: Baḥər Dar, Kota Maryam,[16] St. Mary Church (in the island of Däqq).—Size: 202×210 mm.—Columns: two.—Language: Geʿez.—Material: vellum, leather cover.—Folios: 21 (ff. 1^{r}–18^{r} DṢ; 18^{r}–21^{v} *Zena Ṣəyon*).—Number of lines: 18.—Scribe: Wäldä Dawit, commissioned by Zäwäldä Maryam.—Date: 17th cent. AD.

> *Inc.* (of *Zena Ṣəyon*): **ዓዲ፡ እጽሕፍ፡ ዜና፡ ዕበያ፡ ወክብራ፡ ወውዳሴ፡ ንግሣ፡ ለታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ እስራኤል፡ ጽዮን፡ እንዘ፡ እብል፡ መኑ፡ ይክል፡ ይትናገር፡ ክብራ፡ ለደብተራ፡ ዘገብራ፡ ሙሴ፡ በደብረ፡ ሲና። ገብራ፡ በስብሐት፡ በከመ፡ ነገሮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወአርአዮ፡ ኵሎ፡ ምሳልያተ፡ ሰማያዊተ።** …
>
> Once again, I will write the news of the greatness, honor and praise of the majesty of the Ark of the God of Israel, Zion, saying 'Who shall be able to speak the honor of the Tabernacle, that Moses made on Mount Sinai?' He made Her in praise as the Lord had told him, and He had shown him all the heavenly parables …

Special features: It applies[17] the form **አንቲ፡ ይእቲ፡** 'you [fem.] are' instead of the customary **አንቲ፡ ውእቱ፡**. (**ደ**) *dä* is triangular towards the head; *lä* (**ለ**) terminates in a pointed top. The diagonal downstroke of **ረ** and **ፈ** is curved. It employs nine[18] dots or pellets to end sentences instead of four dots, symbolizes the nine annual feasts of Our Lord.[19]

---

15 Some folios from the microfilm are darkened and difficult to read. The microfilm starts from f. 1^{v}.

16 Kota Mariam was founded in the 2nd half of the 16 cent. AD (cf. Di Salvo 1999: 78–80, 140, 148).

17 F. 18^{vb}—twice.

18 My computer font only had a punctuation symbol with seven dots (⁜) but not nine dots; for convenience, this symbol is used in the present work.

19 Cf. Kidanä Wäld (1955/1956 [EC 1948]: 44); Abäbaw Yəgzaw (2007/2008 [EC 1999]: 55–56); Sergew (1987–1988: 14) presumes that nine dots also could serve as a closing sign for the chapter and in some cases they may have the role of a full stop.

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1.1.7 **P** = Printed Ṭana Text

Publisher: Ṭana Qirqos Communal Monastery. The source manuscript (or manuscripts) is not mentioned.—Columns: two.—Language: Geʿez (1st col.) and Amharic (2nd col.).—Material: paper.—Pages: 286 pp. It has four major sections: (pp. 1–28 DṢ; pp. 28–264 KN; pp. 265–280 *Täʾammärä Ṣəyon*; pp. 281–286 *Mälkəʾa Ṣəyon*). Date: *Ḫədar* EC 1998 (Nov. AD 2005).

1.1.7.1 Dərsanä Ṣəyon (*pp. 1–264*).

The title *Dərsanä Ṣəyon* is given for both DṢ (pp. 1–28) and KN (pp. 28–264).—Division: the text is divided into seven days (from Monday to Sunday) and seventy-five Chapters.—Language: Geʿez and Amharic.

1.1.7.2 Täʾammärä Ṣəyon Maryam (*pp. 265–280*).

Total: 8 miracles. Language: Geʿez and Amharic.

> *Inc.*: **ተአምሪሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ሰማያዊት። ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን። ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። በእንተ፡ አምልኮ፡ ጣዖት፡ ስምዑ፡ ንንግርክሙ፡ ኵልክሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን።** …
>
> Miracle of Zion our Celestial Mother. May Her prayer and blessings be with Christian people, forever and ever, Amen. About idol worship: All you Christian people listen so that we tell you …

1.1.7.3 Mälkəʾa Ṣəyon (*pp. 281–286*).

Language: only Geʿez.—Part: 53 *Arkes*.

> *Inc.*: **መልክአ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ። ሰላም፡ ለዝክረ፡ ስምኪ፡ እንተ፡ ይጼዋዕ፡ በወትር፤ በአፈ፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ በጊዜ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወክብር፤ ጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ንግሥተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወምድር፤ እለ፡ ይክህዱ፡ ድንግልናኪ፡ ውሉደ፡ ኩነኔ፡ ወፃዕር፤ ይጥፍኡ፡ ወይማስኑ፡ እምኵሉ፡ ሀገር።** …
>
> Effigy of Zion, Holy of Holies, Mother of God. Salutation to the memory of Your name, which is invoked continually by the mouth of angels and men at the time of praise and glory; our Mother Zion, the Queen of heaven and earth. Those who deny Your Virginity (are) sons of damnation and torment; Let them be extinguished and be destroyed from every country …

Special features: (Similar to B) the endings—(*t*)*u* and -(*t*)*ä* are spelled out in numbers, for example: ፩ዱ፡ [§3] ፲ቱ፡ [§15], ፪ቱ፡ [§18] ፲ቱ፡ **ወለለ፩ዱ፡ ፳ወ፰ቱ፡ ፬ቱ፡**

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(twice) [§19], ፩ዱ፡ (twice) [§20], ፳ወ፱ቱ፡ ወ፲ቱ፡ ወ፯ቱ፡ ፻ት፡ ወ፼ወ፭ቱ፡ [§21], ፲ተ፡ ወ፪ተ፡ BP (twice) [§29], ዕልፈ፡ ወ፳፻ተ፡ [§32], ፲ቱወ፪ቱ፡ [§36], ፬ተ፡ ፻ተ፡ [§45], ፪ኤ፡ [§55], ፯ተ፡ [§61], ፭ቱ፡ [§66], ወ፲ቱ፡ [§69], ፭ቱ፡ ወ፩ዱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ ወ፫ቱ፡ ወ፬ቱ፡ ወ፭ቱ፡ [§70], ፭ተ፡ ዕልፈ፡ ወ፼ዓ፡ [§72], ፯ቱ፡ ፸፡ [§75], በ፯ቱ፡ [§80], በ፬ቱ፡ [§86], ፵ዓ፡ ወ፳ራ፡ ፳ወ፭ቱ፡ ፳ራ፡ [§87], ፪ተ፡ ፲ቱ፡ (twice) ወ፪ቱ፡ (thrice) ፩ዱ፡ [§88], ወ፪ኤ፡ [§89], ፪ተ፡ [§90], ፲ቱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ [§91], ፵ዓ፡ ለ፲ቱ፡ [§92], ፪ቱ፡ (twice) [§94], ወ፪ኤ፡ (twice) [§95], ወ፲ቱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ (twice), ፲ቱ፡ ፬ቱ፡ (twice) [§97], ፲ቱ፡ [§98], ፳ራ፡ [§101], ፪ኤ፡ [§102], ፪ተ፡ ፸ፈ፡ ወ፻ተ፡ [§104], ፬ተ፡ ፻ተ፡ ወ፳ራ፡ ፵ዓ፡ [§110], ፬ተ፡ ፻ተ፡ ወ፳ራ፡ [§111], ፬ቱ፡ [§113], ፩ዱ፡ [§114], ፩ዱ፡ [§117], ፩ዱ፡ [§118], ፲ቱ፡ በ፪ኤ፡ [§127], ወ፪ቱ፡ [§132], ፯ቱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ [§133], በ፪ኤ፡ [§135].—In some cases, Biblical references are given (chapter and verses) for the related quotations.[20]

1.1.8 **Q** = EMML 8713[21]

Place: Däbrä Tabor, Dära, Ṭana Qirqos.—Size: 260 × 285 mm.—Columns: three.—Language: Geʿez.—Material: vellum.—Folios: 133+ii (DṢ is only ff. 1^{r}–8^{v}).—Number of lines: 25.—Date: 18th cent. AD.

Special feature: Full stop is nine dots in the form of a cross (⁜).

1.1.9 **S** = EMML 8979[22]

Place: Däbrä Tabor, Dära, Šəme Maryam.—Size: 200 × 290 mm.—Columns: two.—Language: Geʿez (Amharic in colophon).—Material: vellum.—Folio: 155+vi: *Dərsan Zenaha läMaryam bäwärḫa Mäggabit* 29 (ff. 1ra–10^{rb}); *Mäṣḥafä Lədäta läMaryam* (ff. 11ra–20^{rb}); *Mənbab zäSäne* 21 (ff. 20^{rb}–30^{vb}); *Mäṣḥafä ʿƎräfta läMaryam* (ff. 30^{vb}–62^{vb}); *Wəddase ziʾaha* ('the story of Her Death and Assumption') (ff. 62^{vb}–89ra); *Dərsan Zenaha läMaryam bäwärḫa Näḫase* 16 (ff. 89ra–109^{vb}); *Mənbab zäQ^{w}əsq^{w}am* (ff. 109^{vb}–125ra); *Dərsan Zäbäʾata* (ff. 125ra–130^{vb}); *Dərsan ZäQəddəst Maryam Dəngəl—Mənbab amä 21 läṬərr* (ff. 130^{vb}–136ra); *Dərsanä Ṣəyon* (ff. 137ra–146^{rb}); *Mäṣḥafä Kidana läʾƎgzəʾtənä Maryam* (ff. 146va–152ra); *Nägär bäʾəntä Kidana läʾƎgzəʾtənä Maryam* (ff. 152^{rb}–154ra); list of Šəme Maryam Church administrators (154^{rb}–155^{rb}).—Number of lines: 26–31.—Scribe: Wäldä Maryam, copied for Sənqe.—Date: EC 1884 (AD 1891/1892).

20 Cf. [§35] (Ps. 47:12), [§39] (Ps. 131:13).

21 This manuscript also contains other texts, which are called *Dərsanä Maryam*; of these, DṢ is only ff. 1^{r}–8^{v}. I was unable to get a copy of the remainder of the manuscript.

22 It includes other Marian texts, and properly should be entitled *Dərsanä Maryam*.

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Inc.: በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ውዳሴ፡ ዘደረሰ፡ ላቲ፡ ወዜነዋ፡ መልአክ፡ በጥይቅና፡ ለቅድስት፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ድርሳን፡ ዜናሃ፡ ለማርያም፡ በወርኃ፡ መጋቢት፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፱፡ መጽአ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘቦቱ፡ ማዕተብ፡ መስቀል፡ ...

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the praise which the angel carefully composed to her and announced to her, the Holy Mother of God, the *Dərsan Zenaha* ('Homily of Her annunciation') of St. Mary on the 29th of the month of *Mäggabit*, the angel who has the sign of the cross came ...

Colophon: (f. 136ra) ይህን፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ስንቁ፡ በገንዘቡ፡ አስጥፏል፡ ለሸሜ፡ ማርያም፡ ከብቱንም፡ ጥፋት፡ ልማት፡ ቢያገኝኝ፡ ለሸሜ፡ «ማርያም» ሰጥቶ፡ አለሁ፡ ብሏል። ይህን፡ ሲያጽፍ፡ በምኒልክ፡ መንግሥት፡ በአለቃ፡ ማህሉ፡ ግዛት፡ በቁስ፡ እንግዳ፡ ባድገህ፡ ደስታ፡ ግብዝና። እማኞች፡ ፈንታ፡ ኪዳኑ፡ አቶ፡ ረዳ፡ በለጠ፡ ኃይሉ፡ በጅሮንድ፡ እንግዳ፡ ሲሰጡም፡ በማኝ፡ ተፈጥመው፡ ነው። (f. 136rb) እሉ፡ ንዋይያተ፡ (sic) ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘወሀባ፡ ለሸሜ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘበትርጓሜሃ፡ ደብረ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ገብረ፡ ዚአሃ፡ መምህር፡ ጎብሉ፡ ፫፡ መስቀል፡ አ፭፡ (sic) ቃጭል፡ ፭፡ የቁም፡ አትሮንስ፡ ፭፡ ድርሳነ፡ ሩፋኤል፡[23] ድርሳነ፡ ማርያም፡ ነገረ፡ ማርያም፡ ተአምረ፡ ማርያም፡ ግብረ፡ ሕማማት፡ ሲኖዶስ፡ ፬፡ ወንጌል፡ ገድለ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ፪፡ ሐዲሳት፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ቂደር፡ ጸሎተ፡ ዕጣን፡ ኮሎሙኬ፡ ፲፯።

Sənqe caused this book to be written by his own money [and] donated to Šəme Maryam [together with] his cattle, [saying] whether I face good or evil.[24] He caused this to be written in the reign of Mənilək, in the leadership of *aläqa* Sahlu, [and] *gəbzənna* 'guardianship' of *qes* Ǝngəda Badgeh Dästa. Witnesses: Fänta Kidanu, *ato* Rädda Bälläṭä Ḫaylu, *bäğrond* Ǝngəda and he donated in the presence of witnesses. These church vessels were donated to Šəme Maryam, whose meaning is Däbrä Fəśśəha, its [the church's] servant *mämhər* Hablu [donated]: 3 crosses, 1 bell, 1 standing pulpit, 1 *Dərsanä Rufa'el*, *Dərsanä Maryam*, *Nägärä Maryam*, *Tä'ammärä Maryam*, *Gəbrä Ḫəmamat*, *Sinodos*, the four Gospels, *Gädlä Ḥawaryat*, 2 New Testaments, *Book of Qedär*, [book of] *Prayer of incense*, in total 17.

Special features: It uses ፳ኤል፡ for እስራኤል፡ 'Israel'[25] (cf. [§25], [§27], [§28], [§45], [§46] (twice), [§50] (twice), [§51], [§53], [§54], [§59], [§60], [§62]

23 ገብርኤል፡ erased.

24 Lit. 'construction' or 'destruction'.

25 We also saw this a little in MS B [§101].

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(twice), [§63], [§66], [§67], [§71], [§75], [§76], [§80], [§83], [§101], [§103] (twice), [§105] etc.).—The mark for full stop (፠) has the form of nine dots in a cross (⁜), as the above manuscripts [K] and [Q]. The letters ረ and ፈ are triangular in form. The 7th order vowel marker of ቀ is rounded and the vertical bar is fixed at the middle of the ring. The letter ለ has an unusually small head at the top.

1.1.10 **T** = Ṭānāsee 72[26]

Place: Ṭana, Däbrä Maryam.—Size: 160×155 mm.[27]—Columns: two.—Language: Geʿez.—Material: vellum.—Folio: 219 (it includes various marian readings, such as: *Zä-Qʷəsqʷam*, *Zä-ṣəyon* (ff. 25ʳ–42ᵛ), *zä-Bäʾata*, *zä-Astärʾəyo*, *zä-Kidanä Məhrät*, *bäʾəntä zäzenäwa Gäbrəʾel* (on *Mäggabit* 29), *zena ṣənsäta wälədäta*, *zä-ḥənṣätä* or *Qəddase beta*, *zena Ǝrgäta* or *Fəlsäta läʾǝgzəʾtənä wäzenahu lä-Gigar*).—Number of lines: 20.—Scribe: Awalədä Nəgəśt.—Date: 16th cent. AD.[28]

> *Inc*. (reading on *Zä-ṣəyon*, ff. 25ʳ–42ᵛ): በስመ፡ ክስብኤል፡ ወቢቃ፡ ወአክዕ፡ (sic) ዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ምሥጢር፡ ኀቡዕ፡ ዘታዕካ፡ ሰማይ፡ ልክዕ፡ (sic) ዘኢይትአመር፡ ክዋኔሁ፡ በሕሊና፡ መላእክት፡ ...
>
> In the name of Kəsbəʾel, Beqa and of Akaʿ. This is a hidden secret which is fastened to the throne of heaven, whose essence is not known either by the minds of angels ...

Special features: It divides the morpheme ዘ from the following words, which is not common in Geʿez: ለዘ፡ ኮነቶ፡ [§41]; ለዘ፡ ቀደሳ፡ [§42].[29] It employs nine dots in every sentence instead of four dots. The writing in this manuscript is broad and heavy. Uniquely, the loop in the seventh vowel of ተ፡ and ቀ፡ has a very short/zero neck. The fifth vowel order is in most cases written as an open loop, which is frequent feature of mid-15th/mid 16th cent. scripts.[30] The

26 The microfilm was brought from the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. I would like to thank Prof. Marrassini for facilitating its acquisition. The description of this manuscript is given by Hammerschmidt (1977: 77–82). This manuscript is also given the shelfmark 'Dabra Māryām 14', by Hammerschmidt.

27 A size 24×20.5×11 cm is also given (cf. Hammerschmidt 1977: 77).

28 From a paleographic point of view, this manuscript is grouped under Uhlig's period III. Cf. Uhlig 1990: 55–70; 1988.

29 We already saw this when ዘ takes an enclitic: MS [A] ለዘኒ፡ ጸሐፎ፡ ; and the printed text [P] ወዘሰ፡ ያፈቅረኒ፡ .

30 Cf. Uhlig 1990: 61; also 1988.

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sixth order gä (ግ፡) extends downward from the upper horizontal stroke. The diagonal downstroke of ፈ፡ and ፋ፡ is curved.

1.2 *Textual Arrangements of DṢ*

The author of DṢ styles himself in the text [§ 99] as a shepherd of goat and sheep. His name and place of origin are not mentioned. Out of ten witnesses, two ([C] and [T]) are the earliest copies, written in the 15th cent. and 16th cent. AD respectively.

DṢ, as attested in the three manuscripts, was composed as a separate text. Later, it was compiled together with *Dərsanä Maryam* (DM) 'Homily [in honor] of Mary'. On the other hand, three witnesses put DṢ together with *Kəbrä Nägäśt* 'Dignity of Kings' (KN) as one text. The ten manuscripts thus show several arrangements. The situation can be summarized as follows (the Greek sigla refer to their stemmatic position, for which see below):

Ωαε [D] (*Tarikä Nägäśt*[31] +DṢ) NALA, NL 630 (EC 1977 = AD 1984/1985).
Ωαε [K] (DṢ) Baḥər Dar, Kota Maryam, EMML 8429 (17th cent. AD).
Ωαγ [S] (DM) Däbrä Tabor, Dära, Šəme Maryam, EMML 8979 (19th cent. AD).
Ωαγφλ [C] (DṢ) NALA, NL 273 (15th cent. AD).
Ωαγφλ [F] (DṢ) Bäbbäks Däbrä Gännät St. Mary Church, EMML 8823 (19th cent. AD).
Ωαγφλ [Q] (DM) Ṭana manuscript, EMML 8713 (18th cent. AD).
Ωαγφλ [T] (DM) Däbrä Maryam, Ṭānāsee 72 (16th cent. AD).
Ωβ [A] (DṢ + KN) Axum (EC 1925 = AD 1932/1933).
Ωβδ [B] (DṢ + KN) Ǝnṭoṭṭo (20th cent. AD).
Ωβδ [P] (DṢ+ KN) Printed text, Ṭana Qirqos Communal Monastery (EC 1998 = AD Nov. 2005).

The issue of which texts are bound together with DṢ is of no importance for establishing the *stemma codicum* of DṢ itself. However, it is interesting as an issue in its own right. We can categorize the text arrangement of DṢ into four as follows in approximately chronological order:

1) Initially, DṢ was composed separately as attested in NL 273 [C], EMML 8429 [K] and EMML 8823 [F]. Note that [C] and [K] are among the oldest manuscripts.

31 *Tarikä Nägäśt* lit. 'History of Kings'.

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2) DṢ was compiled together with other Marian texts to form DM. This is attested in three manuscripts: [S] + [Q] + [T] = S + ξ. One of these ([T]) is quite old.
3) Due to similarity of the content of KN and DṢ, the two came to be considered together as a single text: DṢ 'proper' as an introduction and KN as the body. This is clear in sub-archetype β = A + B + P = (A+δ). These are among the most recent versions.
4) The codex NL 630 [D] contains *Tarikä Nägäśt* (ff. 1^{ra}–40^{vb}) and DṢ (ff. 41^{ra}–59^{va}) in one volume.

Let us examine these four types of DṢ arrangement.

1.2.1 DṢ 'proper'

DṢ 'proper' is an independent text about the story and glory of the Ark of the Covenant. It preserves biblical accounts of the Ark. However, it makes no mention of the visit of Queen of Sheba to Solomon and the coming of the Ark to Axum.[32] It does not mention the Ethiopian claim on the Ark. It extends only up to the destruction of the First Temple. The text plainly states that the Ark was present in Jerusalem until the destruction of the first Temple. It mentions the concealment of the Ark with the two Tablets when the Chaldeans devastated the country. It also tells us that the temple vessels were captured. The text goes:

> **ወአዘዞ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ባቢሎን። ወአመዝበርዋ፡ ለሀገሮሙ፡ ከለዳውያን። ወአንሐልዋ፡ ለሕንጻ፡ መቅደሱ፡ ዘሰሎሞን። ወታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ተኀብአት፡ ወኢረከብዋ። ወጽላትኒ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ፲፡ ቃላት፡ በከርሣ። ወተጼወወት፡ ሀገር፡ ኵለንታሃ፡ ወንዋየ፡ ብርትኒ፡ ዘቅድስት፡ ተጼወዉ።**
>
> And He commanded the king of Babylon and the Chaldeans devastated their country and destroyed the Temple of Solomon. However, the Celestial and Holy Ark of Zion remained concealed and they could not find Her. The Tablet together with the Ten Commandments [were] in Her womb. The whole country was captured and as for the holy bronze vessels, they were [also] captured.
>
> DṢ §§112–113

32 *Zena Ṣəyon* 'News of Zion', a text preserved in sub-family ε [D+K] closely depends on the narration of KN. Miracle of Zion in MS [F] (EMML 8823) presents a detailed account how Moses delivered the Ark from the hands of the Lord and its coming to Axum by Mənilək I. These versions are basis for the Ethiopian claim on the Ark of the Covenant, which DṢ 'proper' limits itself.

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Hence, the scope of DṢ 'proper' is more limited than KN and the Ethiopian claim concerning the Ark of the Covenant. As we read from the colophon[33] of subfamily [β][34] and the attached miracle of Zion in EMML 8823 [F], the Ark is deposited at Axum. It also states that a cathedral for the Ark at Axum was constructed by the order of the Lord during the time of the brother kings Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa. The text goes:

> ስምዑ፡ እንግርክሙ፡ ኦ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ... እለ፡ ትናፍቁ፡ ወትብሉ፡ ኢሀለወት፡ ጽላት፡ ዘሙሴ፡ በምድረ፡ አክሱም፡ ዓባይ፡ ሀገር፡ ማኅደረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዳግሚት፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ፀወነ፡ ኵሉ፡ ዓለም፡ ሰሚአክሙ፡ እምዓላውያነ፡ ሃይማኖት። አእምሩ፡ ወለብዉ፡ ዘንብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ተአምረ፡ ወመንክረ፡ በመንግሥተ፡ አብርሐ፡ ወአጽብሐ፡ ነገሥታተ፡ አክሱም፡ እንዘ፡ ጳጳስነ፡ አቡነ፡ ሰላማ፡ ከሣቴ፡ ብርሃን። ... ወዜና፡ ምጽአታ፡ ለእምነ፡ ጽዮን፡ እምኢየሩሳሌም፡ ሀሎ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ውስተ፡ ታሪክ፡ ነገሥት። ወአመ፡ ፲ሩ፡ ወ፫፡ ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቶሙ፡ ለአብርሐ፡ ወአጽብሐ፡ መጽአ፡ ጥምቀተ፡ ክርስትና፡ ውስተ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ በምድረ፡ አክሱም። ... ወወረደ፡ ሎሙ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት፡ ውስተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ደብር፡ ዘትሰመይ፡ መከየደ፡ እግዚእነ። ... ወይቤሎሙ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ለአብርሐ፡ ወአጽብሐ፡ ናሁ፡ ሰማዕኩ፡ ጸሎተክሙ፡ ወስእለተክሙ፡ ሕንጹ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ በስማ፡ ለእምየ፡ ማርያም፡ ገበዘ፡ አክሱም፡ ውስተ፡ ማዕከላ፡ ለዛቲ፡ ባሕር፡ በአምሳለ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ሰማያዊት።

Listen to what I tell you O Christian people ... Those of you who doubt [the existence of the AC at Axum] by giving heed to the rebels against faith and who say 'The Ark of Moses is not found in the Land of Axum, the great city', which is the dwelling of the Lord, the second Jerusalem and refuge of all the world, let you know and understand the miracle and wonder that the Lord did during the reign of Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa, the kings of Axum while Sälama, the revealer of light, was our bishop ... As for the story of the coming of our Mother Zion from Jerusalem, it is written in the history of the kings [that] during the thirteenth year of reign of Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa, Christian baptism came to Ethiopia in the land of Axum ... Subsequently, Our Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to Him, descended to them on this mount, which is named Mäkäyädä Ǝgzi'ənä[35] ... And Our Lord said to Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa, 'Behold, I have heard your prayer and supplications. Hence, you may build a temple in the name of My Mother Mary, the cathedral of Axum, in the center of this sea, in the image of the celestial Jerusalem'.[36]

33 Cf. Amsalu Tefera 2014b.

34 I.e. Axum MS [A], Ǝnṭoṭṭo MS [B] and published text [P].

35 Lit. 'the footstool of Our Lord'.

36 For the full text, see Amsalu Tefera 2014b.

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Four manuscripts (D, K,[37] F and P), which do not include DM, nevertheless later added some miracles and *Zena Ṣəyon* and/or *Mälkəʾa Ṣəyon*. These additions are not found in the majority of the families (and notably not in the oldest MS [C]) and thus cannot be considered as part of DṢ 'proper'. DṢ 'proper' glorifies the Ark of the Covenant. It symbolizes St. Mary with the heavenly Zion and metaphorically uses the term Zion to signify the Virgin Mary. The present edition presents the DṢ 'proper', which is narrated, critically edited and translated into English with annotations. The sections are divided and paragraphs are numbered. Each section is subdivided into verses in order to make all references to the text easy and clear.

1.2.2 DM Arrangement

The title *Dərsanä Maryam* (DM) refers to various compendia made of different Marian works. It does not refer exclusively to any one text, but conventionally indicates a number of homiletic, hagiographic or apocalyptic works sharing the veneration of the Virgin Mary. One version of DM was recently translated into Amharic by *Mämhər* Täsfa Mikaʾel Takkälä and published by *Maḫbärä Qəddusan* in 2010/2011 [EC 2003]. The book is divided into 18 chapters (232 pages) and it commences with 'DṢ proper'. It also contains an introductory note on general features of the *Dərsan* and significance of the book.

The three manuscripts which I have grouped under DM amongst the DṢ manuscripts, namely [S]+[Q]+[T], preserve the following daily lections: *Dərsan Zenaha läMaryam bäwärḫa Mäggabit 29*; *Mäṣḥafä Lədäta läMaryam*; *Mənbab zäSäne 21*;[38] *Mäṣḥafä ʿƎräfta läMaryam*;[39] *Wəddase zi'aha* (the story of Her Death and Assumption); *Dərsan Zenaha läMaryam bäwärḫa Näḫase 16*; *Mənbab zäQʷəsqʷam*; *Dərsan Zäbäʾata*; *Dərsan ZäQəddəst Maryam Dəngəl*, *Mənbab amä 21 läṪərr*; *Dərsanä Ṣəyon*;[40] *Mäṣḥafä Kidana läʾƎgzəʾtənä Maryam*; *Nägär bäʾəntä Kidana läʾƎgzəʾtənä Maryam*. Manuscript [T] presents these Marian texts but gives their titles as: *ZäQʷəsqʷam, Zäṣəyon, Zäʾastärʾəyo, Zäkidanä Məḥrät, Zena ṣənsäta wälədäta, Zäḥənṣätä/Qəddase beta, Zena ʿƎrgäta/Fəlsäta läʾƎgzəʾtənä wäzenahu läGigar,* etc.

37 [D] and [K] form a family called ε.

38 The author is Basil of Caesarea (cf. Heldman 1993a: 92).

39 John the Evangelist is the author of this homily (cf. Heldman 1993a: 92).

40 As I said earlier, DṢ is read on *Ḫədar* 21. *Nägärä Maryam* also preserves short homilies on *Ḫədar* 21, but different from DṢ. EMML 2044, for instance, contains different homilies to St. Mary and the short homily on *Ḫədar* 21 is dedicated to the Ark of Zion (ff. 149^{rv}). See also ff. 62^{v}–64^{v} of this text (cf. Getatchew and Macomber 1982: 27–41, here p. 39).

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1.2.3 KN Arrangement

In the witnesses which show the 'KN arrangement', DṢ and KN are merged and have become one text. These include three out of the ten manuscripts of DṢ: Axum manuscript [A], Ǝnṭoṭṭo manuscript [B] and the printed text [P]. The arrangement systematically combines the two texts and produces one bigger text, with DṢ as an introduction and KN as the main body. As it is evidenced from other families, the DṢ 'Proper' ends with the words: **ተፈጸመ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ድርሳን፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ በወርኃ፡ ካኑን፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለወርኃ፡ ጎዳር፡** … 'The homily which is read on the month of *Kanun* on the twenty first of the month of *Ḫədar* is [now] completed …'. These three manuscripts [A, B and P],[41] deliberately omit the concluding phrase with **ተፈጸመ፡** 'completed' and continue directly with the opening text of KN: **በአኰቴቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ አኃዜ፡ ኵሉ፡ ወበወልዱ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘቦቱ፡ ኵሉ፡ ኮነ፡** … 'In Praising the Lord the Father Sustainer of all, and His Son Jesus Christ, in Whom everything came into being …'. This is a clear indication of direct editorial intervention.

1.2.4 Unique Arrangement

We have only one manuscript under this category, NL 630 [D]. It comprises *Tarikä Nägäśt* (ff. 1^{ra}–40^{vb}) and DṢ (ff. 41^{ra}–59^{va}) in one volume.

1.3 *Textual Analysis of DṢ*

1.3.1 Content

DṢ speaks about various matters. As a Christian theological text, it commences with doxology of the Holy Trinity. It glorifies the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Incarnation is also discussed broadly in the text. DṢ is one of the many sources on Mariology. It primarily tells of the glory and symbols of St. Mary. The text frequently uses the epithet Zion for St. Mary and the Ark of the Covenant. It praises Zion Mary for her miraculous deeds and wonders.[42]

We find allegorical descriptions of the Virgin in DṢ as: the Celestial Zion, the Ark of the Law, the Pure Virgin, habitation of the Lord, the country of the great King, Bride of Lebanon, Zion the gate of Paradise, the golden ship, our Mother Zion, holder of the dew of divinity, etc. The text also presents praises, prodigies and miracles performed by St. Mary.

There are also other topics that DṢ talks about. Some are: detailed narration on how the Lord bestowed the two Tablets of the Law to Moses; theological

41 These manuscripts form a separate family: β = δ [B + P] + A.

42 For a detailed note on Mariology in the EOTC, cf. Amsalu Tefera 2012: 71–95.

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interpretation of the Ark (*Tabot*), Tablets of Law (*Ṣəllat*),[43] and their equivalent NT hermeneutical qualities; OT and Judaic episodes presented in their NT and Ethiopian Christian version; mighty deeds and astonishing miracles of the Ark of the Covenant; the construction of the Temple of Solomon and its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, the concealment of the Ark of the Covenant, and many other topics are discussed in DṢ.

1.3.2 Theme

DṢ deals with the mighty deeds of the Ark of the Covenant in the time of the OT (until the destruction of the First Temple). Accordingly, the story of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon, the coming of the Ark of the Covenant to Axum etc. do not appear in the text. Thus, we can assume that the text was composed in such a way as to give particular reverence to the Ark of the Covenant by elaborating its veneration from biblical sources, limiting its scope as compared with KN. It illustrates the resemblance of the Ark to St. Mary and vice versa. Hence, throughout the text we can read 'Virgin Mary did so and so', during the time of OT. And in some cases, it says 'the Ark of the Covenant did such and such miracles while Jews were in slavery'. Moreover, it shows the mighty deeds of God for the Israelites by the means of the Ark of the Covenant. Finally, the text magnifies the exegetical and hermeneutical features of the celestial Zion.

1.3.3 Values of DṢ

DṢ is popular in the EOTC. By contrast, less attention is given to it by foreign scholars. In the Church at Axum, reading of DṢ in former days had a special ritual, being read in the inner 6th chapel of the temple. Currently the reading is outside the temple, with umbrella and without shoes.[44] DṢ has various significances. Some are listed below.

1.3.3.1 *Historical Value*

The Ethiopian Orthodox *Täwaḥədo* Church at Axum is the only church in the world which still claims to possess the Ark of the Covenant. This notion is based on KN. The claim of the Ethiopian Kings as the successors of the Solomonic line is based on the coming of the Ark of the Covenant,[45] which is the nucleus of

43 Sing. ጽሌ፡ *Ṣəlle*, pl. ጽላት፡ *Ṣəllat* 'tablet, tablet of the Law, tablet of metal, stone, beam' (cf. Leslau 1987: 554).

44 Cf. figure 5 (in the appendix), DṢ reading ceremony in front of the Ark Chapel.

45 For KN, the base is the birth of Mənilək I from Solomon, the Israelite King and Sheba, the Ethiopian Queen. The coming of the Ark is the testimony of God's will as the Ethiopians

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both texts (DṢ and KN). It presents Ethiopia as the second Israel and stresses the historical ties beteween the two peoples.

If we accept the narration of KN on the coming of the Ark to Ethiopia, it is more than three thousand years[46] now since the AC was transported to Axum. It was on the basis of this assumpition that EOTC celebrated the commemorative festivity in EC 2000 (AD 2007/2008).[47]

1.3.3.2 *Cultural Value*

The glorification and adoration of Zion is a strong source of confidence for Ethiopian Christians. The AC is a special privilege for Ethiopians [Axumites] and an expression of the will of God. DṢ makes a strong symbolic connection of the Ark with the Virgin St. Mary, to the extent that they are synonymous. The theological assessment and hermeneutical presentation of DṢ are of a high standard. It is a fundamental source for Mariology and related dogmatic teachings of the EOTC.

The feast of *Ḫədar Ṣəyon* at Axum is colorfully celebrated annually. There is a high level of public participation and showing the sentiment of unity of the people. DṢ is considered to have medical value. Women who cannot bear a child flock to the yard of the Ark chapel and carry DṢ under the guidance of the *ʿəqa bet* monk. As a result, they will be able to conceive.[48] Cornuke (2005: 155) notes the following miracle that the Ark of Zion still performs at Axum and the devotion of the laity: 'They [women] come here every day to pray', Birani (sic), the informant responds to Cornuke; 'They are not allowed to go inside the church. It is a holy site. Most of these women are here because they cannot concieve a child, so they pray to the Ark of the Covenant to give them a child. If a woman becomes pregnant after praying in front of the Church, she gives her first-born son to the hermitage as a gift'.

1.4 *Biblical Allusions in DṢ*

DṢ follows the general literary style of Ethiopian hagiographic and homiletic texts. KN and Holy Bible are its basic literary sources. KN (chs. 10, 17, 42, 46, 103, 104, 113, 114, 117) narrates about the Ark of the Covenant, which DṢ also cites (in some instances partially). Quotations from the Bible on the Ark of

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are considered the chosen people. It has been stated that KN shares some features with the chronicle of the wars of King ʿAmdä Ṣəyon I (cf. Ferenc 1985: 264).

46 I.e. from the time of King Solomon (1000 BC) until now.

47 A colorful celebration of the feast at national level was planned by the Patriarchate, but for reasons unknown, it did not materialize.

48 Interview with *Nəburä əd* Bälay, dated December 6, 2010.

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the Covenant are mentioned in the text, in many cases with elaboration and commentary. However, DṢ does not take passages directly from the Bible. It may omit many lines or sometimes whole chapters on the same issue. In some cases, it does cite biblical verses literally. The following excerpts present some Biblical sources of DṢ.

Exodus chapters 24–25; 31–38.[49]

> **ወወሀብክዎሙ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጥበበ፡ ወአእምሮ፡ እቁመ፡ ከመ፡ ይግበሩ፡ ኵሎ፡ ግብራ፡ ለደብተራ፡ መርጡል፡ ወታቦተ፡ ዘህርመቱ፡ ወተቅዋመ፡ ማኅቶት፡ ወምሕዋጽ፡ ዘላዕሌሃ፡ ይነብር፡ ውስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ መርጡል።**
>
> I gave them the Holy Spirit, wisdom and full knowledge in order that they can perform every action for the Tabernacle, the Holy Ark, the candlestick, the window (observatory) which is placed over it inside the Tabernacle.
>
> §17

> **ወገብሩ፡ ምስሃለ፡ መልዕልቴሃ፡ ኀበ፡ ትነብር፡ ታቦተ፡ ቅድሳቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር።ወ፪፡ ኪሩብ፡ ፩፡ ኪሩብ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽንፈ፡ ምስሐል። ወ፩፡ ውስተ፡ ጽንፍ። ወይጼልሉ፡ በክነፊሆሙ። ወሰብኡ፡ ማኅተዊሃ፡ ዘወርቅ።**
>
> They made the cover over Her where the Ark of holiness of the Lord was standing. And two Cherubim: one Cherub at (one) margin of the cover and the other at (the other) margin.[50] They shaded (it) with their wings [i.e. the Mercy Seat]. Seven are Her golden lamps.[51]
>
> §20

Joshua chapters 3–6.

> **ወማይኒ፡ ቆመ፡ ወኢክህለ፡ ወሪደ፡ እስከ፡ የዓድዉ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ እስራኤል። ወማይኒ፡ ምሉእ፡ እስከ፡ ድንጋጊሁ። ወካህናት፡ እንዘ፡ ይጸውርዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ቆሙ፡ ከመ፡ ዘየብስ፡ ርሱያነ።**

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49 This means that in [§§17–18] quotes appear from Exod. 24–25 and 31–38. Only one or two such quotes are given here.

50 Cf. 'And he made two Cherubim of hammered gold; on the two ends of the mercy seat he made them, one cherub on the one end, and one cherub on the other end; of one piece with the mercy seat he made the cherubim on its two ends'. (RSV, Exod. 37:7–8.)

51 Cf. Exod. 37:23.

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As for the water it stood still, and was not able to come down until all the Israelites had crossed. (And [at that season] the water was [normally] full to its bank.) And the priests were standing (fully) dressed as if they were dry.[52]

§28

ወእምዝ፡ ነሥኡ፡ ፲ወ፪፡ አዕባነ፡ እም፡ ኀበ፡ ቆመ፡ አእጋሪሆሙ፡ ለካህናት፡ በጕልቈ፡ ፲ወ፪፡ ነገደ፡ እስራኤል። ወእምድኅረ፡ ዓደዉ፡ ኵሉ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ወጽኡ፡ ካህናት፡ እለ፡ ይጸውርዋ፡ ለጽዮን። ወዮርዳኖስኒ፡ ባሕር፡ ኮነ፡ ከመ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ወምሉእ፡ ውእቱ፡ እስከ፡ ድንጋጌሁ።

And afterwards, they took up twelve stones from where the feet of the priests were standing, one for each of the twelve tribes of Israel.[53] After all the people had crossed, the priests who were carrying Zion departed. Then, the River Jordan became full to its banks as before.

§29

1 Samuel chapters 4–7.

ወተምአመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለእስራኤል፡ ወአውደቆሙ፡ ቅድመ፡ ኢሎፍሊ። ወሞቱ፡ በውስተ፡ ፀብእ፡ ፬፻፡ ብእሲ፡ በገዳም። ወዘተርፉ፡ እስራኤል፡ ነትኡ፡ ወቦኡ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሮሙ። ወይቤሉ፡ በበይነ፡ ምንት፡ ውስተ፡ እዴሆሙ፡ ለኢሎፍሊ፡ አግብአነ፡ እግዚአብሔር።

The Lord became angry at the Israelites and made them fall before the Philistines and four hundred men died during the battle in the desert.[54] And those of the Israelites who escaped returned to their country and said 'For what reason did the Lord deliver us into the hands of the Philistines?'

§46

ወተምዕዓ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን። ወቀሰፎሙ፡ ዓቢየ፡ መቅሰፍተ፡ ለሰብአ፡ አዛጦን፡ ወለደወሎሙ። ወእምዝ፡ ካዕበ፡ ሶበ፡ ጌሱ፡ በጽባሕ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ዳጎን፡ ወረከብዎ፡ ውዱቀ፡ በገጹ፡ ታሕተ፡ እግራ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ንግሥትነ። ወርእሱ፡ ምቁር፡ ወእደዊሁ፡ ፪፡ ወእራኁቲሁ፡ ውዱቃት፡ ኀበ፡ መድረክ። ወአልቦ፡ ዘተርፈ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ማዕከሉ።

52 Cf. Josh. 3:14–17.

53 Cf. Josh. 4:8 f.

54 Cf. I Sam. 4:2.

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And the Lord became angry against them over Zion and He made a great punishment against the people of Azaton and their territory. And when they went early in the morning into the house of Dagon again, they found him fallen on his face at the foot of Zion, our Queen. His head was cut off, his two hands and his palms were fallen on the doorway. Nothing remained of him except his middle part.[55]

§55

2 Samuel chapters 6–7.

ወነሥእዋ፡ እምህየ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወወሰድዋ፡ እንዘ፡ ይጼልል፡ ላዕሌሃ፡ ኪሩብ። ወያዛሰ፡ ወልደ፡ አሚናዳብ፡ ይመርህ፡ ቅድሜሃ። ወዳዊትሰ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወኵሎሙ፡ እስራኤል፡ ይትቀነዩ፡ ቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንዚራ፡ ወየአነዝሩ፡ በኃይል። ወየሐልዩ፡ በጸናጽል፡ ወበናብሊስ፡ ወበመሰንቆ። ወበጽሑ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓውደ፡ እክል።

They brought Zion from there and took Her while the Cherub was hovering over Her. And Uzza, the son of Aminadab,[56] was leading Her. And King David and all the Israelites were chanting before the Lord with lyres, playing the lyre with vigor. And they were singing with sistrum, harp and fiddle.[57] They arrived at the threshing floor.

§76

ወያዛሰ፡ አልዓለ፡ እዴሁ፡ ከመ፡ የአኃዛ፡ ለጽዮን። ወነጽሖ፡ ላሕም፡ ለያዛ። ወሞተ፡ በጊዜሃ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘፈቀደ፡ የአኃዛ፡ ለታቦት፡ በኢድልወቱ።

And Uzza raised his hand in order to take hold of Zion. And the ox threw Uzza [to the ground] and he died at that time, for he wanted to take hold of the Ark, which was not allowed.[58]

§77

1 Kings Chapters 4–9.

ወከመዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ግብረቱ፡ መድምም፡ ወዕፁብ፡ ለሰሚዕ። ወበእመት፡ ፴፡ ኑኑ፡ ወኀሊ፡ በእመት፡ ርኅቡ፡ ኀወኀ፡ ላዕሉ፡ ወኤላም፡ ቅድመ፡ መቅደሱ፡ ፳፡ በእመት። ወሐኒጾቶ፡ ለቤት፡ ፈጸመ። ወገብረ፡ መሳክወ፡ ኅቡአተ። ወገብረ፡ እምዳቤር፡ እስከ፡ ቅድስተ፡

55 Cf. 1 Sam. 5:3–5.

56 Cf. 2 Sam. 6:4.

57 Cf. 2 Sam 6:5; 1 Chron. 13:8.

58 Cf. 2 Sam 6:6–8; 1 Chron. 13:9–11.

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ቅዱሳን፡ ፸፡ በእመት፡ ጽርሑ። ወማዕከለ፡ ቤቱ፡ እንተ፡ ውስጥ፡ ከመ፡ ትንበር፡ ታቦተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጽዮን።

Its construction was like this, astonishing and marvelous to hear: its length was forty cubits, its width was twenty cubits, its height twenty-five;[59] and the porch in front of the sanctuary was twenty cubits. He finished building the Temple [lit. house] and he made hidden windows, and he made its inner chamber forty cubits from the sanctuary to the Holy of Holies, within the interior of the house so that Zion, the Ark of the Lord, could reside there.[60]

§87

1 Chronicles chapters 13–17.

ወሶበ፡ ሰምዐ፡ ዳዊት፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ሖረ፡ ከመ፡ ያምጽኣ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ እስራኤል፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ በትፍሥሕት። ወነሥኣ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ምስለ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ሕዝብ፡ በ፯፡ መሠናቅው።

And when King David heard this matter, he went to bring up Zion, the Ark of the God of Israel to Her country with happiness. He brought Zion accompanied by a multitude of people [playing] seven fiddles.[61]

§80

ወሰሚዖ፡ ዘንተ፡ ወይቤ፡ ፈቃዱ፡ ለይኩን። ወሰሎሞንኒ፡ ወልደ፡ ዚአየ፡ ውእቱ። ወኀደገ፡ ሐኒጾታ። ወታቦት፡ ነበረት፡ በሥርዓተ፡ ሙሴ፡ ነቢይ።

Hearing this, he said 'Let it be His will for Solomon is my own son'. Then he left off building it, and the Ark continued to abide according to the law of Moses the prophet.[62]

§85

2 Chronicles chapters 3–8.

ወገብረ፡ ፪፡ ኪሩብ፡ መልዕልቴሃ፡ ለጽዮን። ፲፡ በእመት፡ ቆሙ፡ ወ፷፡ ክንፉ፡ ለ፩፡ ኪሩብ። ወለካልዑኒ፡ ከማሁ። ፲፡ በእመት፡ ማዕከሎሙ፡ ጎበ፡ ይትረከብ፡ ክነፊሆሙ።

59 Cf. 1 Kings 6:2 '… And thirty cubits high' (RSV).

60 Cf. 1 Kings 6:1–3; 2 Chron. 3:3–5.

61 Cf. 1 Chron. 15:28.

62 Cf. 1 Chron. 17:1–15.

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ወ፪፡ ዕሩያን፡ ወ፭፡ ግብረቶሙ፡ ለ፪። ወይጼልሉ፡ መልዕልተ፡ ታቦት፡ በክነፊሆሙ፡ ዘወርቅ፡ በአፍአ።

He made two Cherubim over Zion. The height of the first Cherub was ten cubits and his wings were five. And as for the second, it was the same. Ten cubits was between them until their wings met. And the two were equal; the construction of both was the same. And they made a covering over the Ark with their golden wings on the exterior.[63]

§88

ወከመዝ፡ ፈጸመ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ሐኒጸ፡ ቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምድኅረ፡ ፳፡ ዓመት።

In this way Solomon completed the building of the Temple of the Lord after a period of twenty[64] years.

§101

4 Ezra (*Ǝzra Sutu'el*) chapters 3–8.

ወይቤ፡ ፩፡ እምነቢያት፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ዕዝራ፡ አመ፡ ፴፡ ዓመት፡ እምዘ፡ ወድቀት፡ ሀገርነ፡ እንዘ፡ ሀለውኩ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገረ፡ ባቢሎን። ወጻእኩ፡ ገዳመ፡ ዘስሙ፡ አርፋድ። ወጾምኩ፡ ሰቡአ፡ መዋዕለ። እክለ፡ ኢበላዕኩ፡ ወኢሰተይኩ፡ ወይነ። ወሥጋኒ፡ ኢጥዕምኩ፡ ግሙራ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ፍሬ፡ ዕፅ፡ ባሕቲቱ።

One amongst the prophets named Ezra[65] said 'In the thirtieth year after the fall of our country, when I was in the country of Babylon, I went out to the wilderness named Arfad[66] and I fasted for seven days. I ate no food and I did not drink wine. I did not taste meat at all but only the fruit of trees'.

§114

ወጸለይኩ፡ ኀበ፡ ልዑል። ወእቤ፡ እግዚኦ፡ እግዚእየ፡ ዘሰማዕኮሙ ፡ ለአበዊነ፡ በገዳም፡ በምድረ፡ በድው። ወወሀብኮሙ፡ ሕገከ። ዘንተ፡ ወዘይመስሎ ፡ ጸለይኩ።

63 Cf. 2 Chron. 3:10–13.

64 Seven years for the Temple (1 Kings 6:38) and thirteen years for his palace (1 Kings 7:1). Totally twenty years for construction (2 Chron. 8:1–2).

65 Cf. 4 Ezra 3:1 ff. (Ethiopic እዝራ፡ ሱቱኤል፡ *Ǝzra Sutu'el* 1:1 ff.).

66 Cf. 4 Ezra 9:26.

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> And I prayed to the Highest and said 'O Lord, my Lord, who heard our fathers in the wilderness and the desert and You gave them Your Law'. I prayed this and the like.
>
> §115

Zechariah chapter 4:2 ff.

> **ወዘንተ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ዘይቤ፡ ዘካርያስ፡ ነቢይ፡ በሳምን፡ ወርኀ፡ በአምሳሊሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪።**
>
> 'And this I have seen' said the Prophet Zechariah[67] in the eighth month, 'the image of Holy Zion who is our Lady Mary, the twofold Virgin'.
>
> §132

1.5 Stemma Codicum

As already stated in the introductory chapter of this book, I have used the Neo-Lachmannian[68] methodology for the critical edition. In this section, I will discuss the 'archetype errors' committed by all families of DṢ, followed by 'sub-archetype errors' which are used for establishing subfamilies. Finally I will present the *stemma codicum* 'family tree', which also shows the dates of all ten manuscripts.

1.5.1 Archetype Errors

1 [*§13*]

ABDFKQST say: **አእሚሮ፡ ውስተ፡ ከርሣ፡ ለማርያም፡**. Obviously the text is not complete. Whereas [C] contains: **አእሚሮ፡ ከመ፡ የኃድር፡ ውስተ፡ ከርሣ፡ ለማርያም፡**. [**P**], on the other hand, says: **አእሚሮ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ሰብአ፡ ውስተ፡ ከርሣ፡ ለማርያም፡**. We can assume that the reading in the archetype was somehow problematic. The reading in the large majority of the families (eight witnesses) lacks a verb and the syntax is incoherent. Both the readings of [C] and [**P**] are acceptable, but there is no way to decide between them; either one, or a third possibil-

67 Cf. Zech. 4:2 ff.

68 'Neo-Lachmannian methodology' is the revised version of the 'Lachmannian' method, which is named after Karl Lachmann (1793–1851). According to Marrassini (2009: 28), the most important criterion proposed by Lachmann is the elimination of the criterion of the *codex optimus* 'the best codex' or 'base manuscript'. For a brief survey of textual edition in Classical and Ethiopic texts, cf. Marrassini 2009: 25–68, Bausi 2010: 142–144, Amsalu Tefera 2011a: 142–148.

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ity, could be the original reading. So we can reconstruct the reading as follows: **አእሚሮ፡ ‡...‡ ውስተ፡ ከርሣ፡ ለማርያምሃ**.

2 [*§16*]
The most common reading says **ለባስልኤል፡ ዘውሬ፡** ADKQT. On the other hand, BP have **ለባስልኤል፡ ዘውፌ፡**. [C] for its part says **ለባስልኤል፡ ዘውዕ፡**. [S] has the reading **ለባስልኤል፡ ዛውሬ፡**. [F] says **ለባስልኤል፡ ዘውራ፡**. All the families have corrupted the reading. The obscure name (**ዘውሬ/ዘውፌ/ዘውዕ/ዛውሬ/ዘውራ**) is the archetypal error. Thus we propose the reading: **ለባስልኤል፡ ዘው‡...‡፡**.[69]

3 [*§44*]
In this section, we find the following errors of the families. ABS read **ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ብርሃን**ሃ. DFKQT, for their part, give the reading **ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ብሩሃን**ሃ. [P] has the text **ለጽዮን፡ እም፡ ዘብርሃን**ሃ. On the other hand, [C] avoids the obscure reading and says: **ለጽዮን፡ እምነ**ሃ. Therefore, we understand that the reading was not clear from the origin or archetype. All the families, as a result, propose various readings in an attempt to give sense. We can propose the reconstruction **ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ‡...‡**ሃ.

4 [*§69*]
This section presents another error committed by all the families. ABP [β] read **ወአፀዉ፡ በዕጐላት፡ ቤተ**ሃ. Another subfamily, SCFQT [γ], has the reading **ወአፀዉ፡ በዕጐሊሆን፡ ቤተ**ሃ. Still another subbranch family DK [ε] has the reading: **ወአፀዉ፡ በዕጐሊሆሙ፡ ቤተ**ሃ. Thus, we can assume that the reading in the original text must have been obscure or contaminated, which can be considered as a common ancestral error. All the families attempt to give their own solution.

In order to make the text more coherent, we can adopt the preposition **ውስተ፡** from the corresponding passage of KN ch. 61,[70] which says: **ወይክልኡ፡ እጐላቲሆሙ፡ ወይዕጽዉ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤት**ሃ. Finally we can reconstruct the reading as: **ወአፀዉ፡ ዕጐላተ፡ [ውስተ፡] ቤት**ሃ. All the manuscripts have changed the text in some way.

5 [*§70*]
In a list of five cities, all the families ABP [β] and CDFKQST [α] have the reading: **ወተለውዋ፡ ፭፡ መሣፍንት፡ ዘኢሎፍሊ፡ ወ፮፡ ዘአዛጦን፡ ወ፯፡ ዘጌት፡ ወ፰፡ ዘአቃሮና፡ ወ፱፡ ዘጋዛ፡ ወ፲፡ አናጹተ፡ ዘወርቅ**ሃ. They all fail to give a 5th city-name after the numeral '5', jumping directly to the next words of the Bible text, 'the golden

69 Dillmann (1853: 161) gives the reading **ለቢሴሌኤል፡ ዘኡራ፡**.

70 Cf. Bezold 1905: 72 text.

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mice' (1Sam. 6:17–18). The fact that the text of DṢ mentions 'the golden mice' argues that this is meant to be a quote from the Bible. The Bible text does have a 5th city and goes as follows: **ዘአዛጦን፡ አሐቲ፡ ወዘጌት፡ አሐቲ፡ ወዘአቃሮን፡ አሐቲ፡ ወዘጋዛ፡ አሐቲ፡ ወዘአስቀሎና፡ አሐቲ።**. Therefore, we can reconstruct the reading with the city **አስቀሎና፡** (Ashkelon).

6 [*§71*]

The following sentence has a problem and does not give sense as it stands: **ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ዕጕላተ። ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ስብሐት።** say **ACDFKQT**. [**B**] has the reading: **ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ዕጕላተ። ውእተ፡ ጊዜ** (sic)**። ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ስብሐት።**. On the other hand, [**P**] adds a long phrase to the obscure text and says: **ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ዕጕላተ፡ ሦዑ፡ ወአቅረቡ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ በህየ፡ ውእተ፡ ጊዜ። ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ስብሐት።** [**S**] appears with another possibility: **ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ዕጕላተ፡ ቆሙ። ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ስብሐት።**. The situation goes: [**P**] gives its own individual solution while [**B**] and [**S**] give the solution partially. We can then deduce that they commit an archetype mistake. Consequently, we can propose the reading as follows: **ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ዕጕላተ፡ ‡...‡ ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ስብሐት።**.

7 [*§72*]

All the families show different readings. The majority of the witnesses [**ACDKQT**] say: **ወአመርገብዋ፡ መልዕልቴሃ።**. Others [**BP**] have the reading **ወአመርአውዋ፡ መልዕልቴሃ።** On the one hand, [**F**] and [**S**] maintain **ወአንበርዋ፡ መልዕልቴሃ፡** and **ወአመ፡ ገብርዋ፡ መልዕልቴሃ፡** respectively. The sentence makes no sense. The verbal form is different across the families. Thus an archetypal mistake must be assumed. So, we can reconstruct the reading as follows: **ወአመ ‡...‡ መልዕልቴሃ።**.

8 [*§88*]

ADFK have the text: **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትከለ። ወለጸፍጸፈ ቤቱ።**. [**B**] says **ወእንተ፡ ውስጥኒ፡ አትከለ። ወለጸፍጸፈ፡ ቤቱ።**. [**C**] adds a phrase and keeps the reading: **ወእንተ፡ ውስጥ፡ በህልቀት፡ አትከለ። ወለጸፍጸፈ፡ ቤቱሰ።**. [**QT**] present **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትከላ። ወለጸፍጸፈ፡ ቤቱ።**. [**P**] has the reading: **ወእንተ፡ ውስጥኒ፡ ተከለ። ወለጸፍጸፈ፡ ቤቱ፡**. On the other hand, [**S**] has a shorter and less clear reading: **ወወበውስጣኒ፡ አትካለ፡ ወለጸፍጸፈ፡**. We can see from the above sentences that all the families have omitted the object. Hence, the sentence lacks sense. [**P**] changes the verb to **ተከለ፡** but the object is still wanting. So we can propose reconstruction of the text as: **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትከለ፡ ‡...‡ ወለጸፍጸፈ፡ ቤቱ።**.

9 [*§91*]

Most families commit the following error: **ወመንኰራኵረ፡ ፀ፡ መታክፍቲሆሙ።**. The accusative is without a verb, yeilding a corrupted reading. The text of [**P**]:

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ወገብረ፡ መንኰራኵረ፡ ለ፩ቱ፡ መታክፍቲሆሙ። is better than the others. But it is probably a later correction, for none of the other families preserve it. We can assume that the error was present as a contamination in the original source. Hence, we can propose the reading: **ወ‡...‡ መንኰራኵረ፡ ‡...‡ ፩፡ መታክፍቲሆሙ።**.

10 [*§107*]

Here again, all families apparently commit an archetypal error. They keep the reading: **ወከማሁ፡ ኦ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ስማዕ፡ ስእለትየ። ወአንተኒ፡ ለእመ፡ ሖርከ፡ በሕግየ።**. It is probably a corrupted text, since the speaker changes abruptly halfway through. Some families and individual manuscripts add a phrase between **ስእለትየ፡** and **ወአንተኒ፡** and give their own personal solution independently: **ይቤ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ሰሎሞን፡** [BP]; **ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡** [F]; **ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡** [Q]; **ለኃጥእ፡ ገብርከ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡** [K]. Not all of these elendations seem relevant; the speaker has to change, and with an addition like **ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡** it does not change. We can reconstruct the reading: **ወከማሁ፡ ኦ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ስማዕ፡ ስእለትየ። ‡...‡ ወአንተኒ፡ ለእመ፡ ሖርከ፡ በሕግየ።** with the understanding that the speaker changes.

11 [*§127*]

In this section, we discuss the various readings of the following text in all the families. **ለንግሥተ፡ ንግሥታት፡ ዘአንስቲያሆን፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክሀ፡ ለኵሉ፡ ዓለም።** is found in **ABDQST**. [K] is the same except for the trivial spelling variation **ዘአንስቲአሆን፡**. Though they differ slightly, [C] and [F] preserve similar text than the other families: **ለንግሥተ፡ ንግሥታት፡ ዘአንስት፡ ቲኦሳን፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክሀ፡ ለኵሉ፡ ዓለማት።** [C]; **ለንግሥተ፡ ንግሥታት፡ ዘአንስት፡ ቲያሶን፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክሀ፡ ለኵሉ፡ ዓለም።** [F]. [P] tries to avoid the difficult reading and simply says: **ለንግሥተ፡ ንግሥታት፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክሀ፡ ለኵሉ፡ ዓለም።**. The reconstruction, therefore, can be proposed as **ለንግሥተ፡ ንግሥታት፡ ዘአ‡...‡ን፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክሀ፡ ለኵሉ፡ ዓለም።**. One can imagine a partial solution as follows: an older reading **ዘአንስቲያሆን፡** was written as **ዘአንስቲያሐን፡** which was then misread as **ዘአንስቲያሶን፡** which was wrongly reanalyzed as **ዘአንስት፡ ቲያሶን፡**.

1.5.2 Sub-Archetype Errors

The *stemma* which is established by the witnesses of *Dərsanä Ṣəyon* is a bipartite[71] one. The branches are given the name [α] and [β]. We shall see both families and establish inferior families under them.

71 A *stemma* branching into two primarily sub-archetypes, against tripartite (forked) stemmas or more.

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1.5.2.1 *Sub-Archetype* [α] = γ + ε

1.5.2.1.1 Sub-Archetype [γ] = **S** + φ [λ + ξ]

This sub-archetype is established after the following common error which is preserved by **SCFQT** that occurred in [§69]. The text goes: **ወአፀዉ፡ በዕጕሊሆን፡ ቤተ።** against the reading of **ወአፀዉ፡ በዕጕላት፡ ቤተ።** by [**ABP**]; and **ወአፀዉ፡ በዕጕሊሆሙ፡ ቤተ።** by [**DK**]. Thus, the archetype is designated as: γ (**S** + φ [λ {**C** + **F**} + ξ {**Q** + **T**}]).

1.5.2.1.2 Sub-Archetype [ε] = [**D**] + [**K**]

We have two conjunctive innovations to group [**D**] and [**K**] in one family that appear in sections 120 and 137.

> [§120] **DK** say **እስመ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ፈተዉ፡ እለ፡ ደክሙ፡ ወዝንቱ፡ ውእቱ፡ ነገሩ፡ ዛቲ፡ ብእሲት።**; whereas the reconstructed text reads: **እስመ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ተኃዝን፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን። ወዝንቱ፡ ውእቱ፡ ነገሩ። ዛቲ፡ ብእሲት፡.**

> [§137] **DK** has the reading **ከመ፡ ታድኅኖ፡ ዓይነ፡ ሞት፡** against the majority reconstructed text **ከመ፡ ታድኅኖ፡ እም፡ እደ፡ ሞት፡.**

We can state the relation of [**D**] and [**K**] under the same family as ε = (**D** + **K**).

1.5.2.1.3 Inferior Family [φ] = [λ (**C**+**F**)] + [ξ (**Q** + **T**)]

FQT(**A**) share the same errors in [§12] and [§84]. They allow us to group them in one inferior family [φ]. Let us see the evidences:

> [§12] **FQT**(**K**)(**A**) has the reading **ወግሉፍ፡ ውስተ፡ ቍሰሊሁ።** against the subfamily **ፀ ወግሉፍ፡ ውስተ፡ ቍጸሊሁ።**. The reconstructed text, on the other hand, reconstructed on the basis of MSS **C**, **D**, **S** which belong to three different subfamilies, gives the reading**፡ ወግሉፍ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽሌሁ።.**

> [§84] **FQT** preserve the reading **ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ ናታን፡**, whereas the reconstructerd text keeps the text **ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለዳዊት፡ በአፈ፡ ናታን፡** which agrees with 1Chron. 17:3.

1.5.2.1.4 Inferior Family [λ]

We have two witnesses [**C**] and [**F**] to be grouped under this family [λ] based on [§127]. Both have the strange reading: **ዘአንስት፡ ቲኦሳን/ቲያሶን።** against **ዘአንስቲያሆን፡** by **ABDS**ξ and **ዘአንስቲአሆን፡** by [**K**]; where [**P**] omits it. We have already seen this problem under the 'archetypal error' of all the families. Here

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[C] and [F] constitute an inferior family [λ] by virtue of sharing the common error; this can be designated as: **λ = C + F**.

1.5.2.1.5 Inferior Family [ξ]

[Q] and [T] constitute a family based on a shared innovation in [§ 88]. They both have the passage: **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትከላ።** against the reading: **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትከለ፡** by ABλε; **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትካለ፡** (sic) by S. The text is reconstructed as **ወእንተ፡ ውስጣኒ፡ አትከለ፡** ‡...‡. Hence, we can represent their kinship as: **ξ = Q + T**.

1.5.2.2 *Sub-Archetype* [*β*]

This archetype is composed of three witnesses [**A**], [**B**] and [**P**], which in turn constitute two subfamilies **β = δ** [**BP**] + [**A**]. It is attested by both external and internal evidence. From the external viewpoint, we can observe the text arrangement of **ABP**: all three of them contain DṢ 'proper' along with KN, including news, miracles and effigies of DṢ, at the end, dividing the whole text reading into seven days of the week, etc.; none of the other manuscripts do this. This argues for classifying them under a single family. From the internal evidence, we can find the following common conjunctive innovations.

1.5.2.2.1 Sub-Archetype [δ] = [**B**] + [**P**]

For the inferior family [δ], we can present plenty of evidence. The following list contains only the significant shared innovations of [**B**] and [**P**].

> [§ 76] **BP** read **ወአልአዛርሰ፡ ወልደ፡ አሚናዳብ፡** whereas the reconstructed text says **ወዖዛሰ፡ ወልደ፡ አሚናዳብ፡**. The biblical context (2 Sam. 6:3) makes it clear that the second is correct; the **BP** scribe(s) confused this with the reading of 1 Sam. 7:1.
>
> [§ 98] **BP ወዘእንቢለከ፡** which is morphologically wrong and makes no sense. Other families preserve the reading **ወዘይቤለከ፡**.
>
> [§ 102] The reconstructed text in this section reads: **ወየሐልዩ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡**. But **BP** say **ይሔልዩ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡** which is a correct word but makes little sense in context.

Hence, based on the above evidence, we can postulate a subfamily: **δ = B + P**.

1.5.2.2.2 Sub-Archetype β = [δ] + [**A**]

We have various grounds grouping **δ (BP)** + **A** into one subfamily. Let us examine them as follows:

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[§32] The reconstructed text says: **ንግሥትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወእምነ።**. This family, on the other hand, has **ማርያም፡ ወአእምነት፡** **A**; **እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ወአአመነት፡** **B**; **እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ወአእመነት፡** **P**. There are two significant differences here: the name **ማርያም፡** and the longer forms **ወአእምነት፡** and **ወአእመነት፡**.

[§61] **ABP** say **ወእምዝ፡ ፈነውዋ፡ ለጽዮን።**, against the reconstructed text: **ፈንውዋ፡ ለጽዮን።**. The verb 'send' here is both preceded and followed by an imperative (jussive), hence it should be an imperative itself: **ፈንውዋ፡**.

[§78] **ABP** have the reading: **ወጸለየ፡ ኀበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላኩ፡ ወይቤ፡**, whereas the reconstructed majority text says: **ወይቤ፡ ዳዊት፡ እፈርህ፡ እግዚኦ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡**.

[§133] **ABP** have the reading **መኃትዊሃኒ፡ ፰፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ ... ወ፹፩፡ አእጹቀ፡ ዘይት።**. [**ABP**] omitted the sentence **እማንቱ፡ እለ፡ ተሐንጻ፡ በአምሳለ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ዘላዕሉ፡ ወመሣውሪሃ፡ ፰፡ ሥዩማን፡ ዘቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡**. This sentence is an integral part of the text. It is very important and is not an added, secondary explanation. However, [**ABP**] all commit the same *homoioteleuton*, jumping from **አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡** to **ዘቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን**. This argues for grouping them in one subfamily.

Thus β = (δ [**B** + **P**]) + **A**.

1.5.2.2.3 Cross-Contamination [**T** ... **A**]

We have one case of cross-contamination. It occurrs in [§29] between [**A**] and [**T**]. They both say: **ወዮርዳኖስኒ፡ ሀገር፡ ከመ፡ ቀዳሚ።** against the reconstructed majority reading: **ወዮርዳኖስኒ፡ ባሕር፡ ኮነ፡ ከመ፡ ቀዳሚ።**. This is unlikely to be banal, polygenetic error: it makes no sense to say that 'the country of Jordan became full to its limit'. Thus, we can represent their cross-affinity by a broken line as [**T** ... **A**].

The entire family can be summarized as follows:

1) **DK** = ε; **CF** = λ; **QT** = ξ; λ + ξ = φ; **S** + φ = γ; ε + γ = α
2) **BP** = δ; **A** + δ = β
3) α + β = **Ω**

We can represent the kinship of innovations attested in all the DṢ families by the following *stemma codicum*, first as a formula and then as a tree:

Ω (α [γ{**S** + φ ((λ [[**C** + **F**]] + ξ [[**Q** + **T**]]))} + ε {**D** + **K**}] + β [δ {**B** + **P**}+ **A**])

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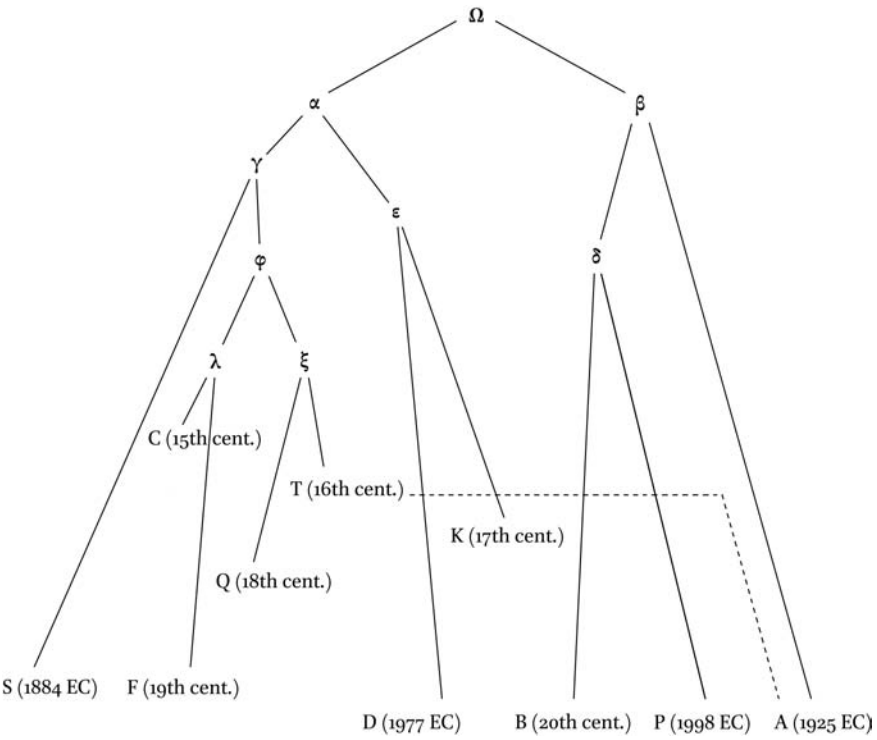

Stemma Codicum *of DṢ*

2 Linguistic Analysis

This section discusses linguistic issues discovered in the various families of DṢ. Some of these issues are polygenetic and some are conjunctive problems. Polygenetic errors are of no fundamental importance for establishing the *stemma*. Though weak, some of them may strengthen the affinity between the families. Note that the correct reading and its equivalent translation are generally not included in this section. If one needs to check the reconstructed text and translation, s/he is referred to the critical edition: Text (chapter four) and Translation (chapter five) of DṢ in reference to the section [§].

2.1 *Adiaphoric Variants*

In the critical edition of DṢ, there are several forms of variations which are attested. Many of them, however, are minor variations, which can easily occur multiple times in different manuscripts independently and as such, are not significant for determining the *stemma* of the manuscripts. Such varients are

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called polygenetic and adiaphoric. Variants which do contribute to the stemma are called conjunctive. True conjunctive errors are rare;[72] on the other hand, polygenetic errors are frequent. They are however insignificant to decide the family. There are adiaphoric[73] variants of different kinds, including: characteristic readings, transpositions, banalization,[74] *homoioteleuta*[75] etc. The following two tables show two of these adiaphoric features as attested in the families of DṢ: transposition and banal erros.

2.1.1 Transposition

The following is a list of transpositions of words, phrases and sentences. The meaning is not affected by the switch. For comparison, the reconstructed meaning is also given in the table.

TABLE 1 *Transposition*

Section	Reconstructed text	Transposition	Family / MS(S)
§ 5	ዘከማሃ፡ ዘይትዔረያ፡	ዘይትዔረያ፡ ዘከማሃ፡	ð
§ 9	ውስቴታ፡ አኃድር፡	አኃድር፡ ውስቴታ፡	ð
§ 10	እግዚእ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	እግዚአብሔር፡ እግዚእ፡	ADð
§ 11	ተናግሮ፡ ዘንተ፡	– ዘንተ፡ ተናጊሮ፡	Dð
		– ዘንተ፡ ተናግሮ፡	F
§ 16	ካዕበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	እግዚአብሔር፡ ካዕበ፡	C
§ 26	ዘይትማሰላ፡ አልቦ፡	አልቦ፡ ዘይትማሰላ፡	C
§ 26	በስብሐት፡ ብዙኅ፡	በብዙኅ፡ ስብሐት፡	C
§ 28	ኮሎሙ፡ እስራኤል፡	እስራኤል፡ ኮሎሙ፡	F
§ 30	ቀዳቅያ፡ ወርኅ፡	ወርኅ፡ ቀዳቅያ፡	F
§ 32	አንስተ፡ ወእደወ፡	እደወ፡ ወአንስተ፡	CS
§ 34	ወከመዝ፡ ነበረት፡	ወነበረት፡ ከመዝ፡	C
§ 39	ወኢወርኅ፡ ወኢከዋክብት፡ ወኢፀሐይ፡	ኢፀሐይ፡ ወኢወርኅ፡	ð
§ 45	እም፡ ግብጽ፡ ደቂቀ፡ እስራኤል፡	ደቂቀ፡ እስራኤል፡ እም፡ ግብጽ፡	S

72 For more information, see Maas 1958: 42–49.

73 From Greek *adiáphoros* 'indifferent'. Every variant which does not contribute to defining the stemma called 'adiaphoric'.

74 If two forms having the same meaning appear in equivalent places in different manuscripts, we speak of banalization.

75 A Greek term which means '[jump] from the same ending to the same ending'.

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TABLE 1 *Transposition* (cont.)

Section	Reconstructed text	Transposition	Family / MS(S)
§46	ውስተ፡ እዴሆሙ፡ ለኢሎፍሊ፡ አግብእነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	አግብእነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ውስተ፡ እዴሆሙ፡ ለኢሎፍላውያን፡	C
§47	ዘኃልቁ፡ ደቂቁ፡	– ለደቂቁ፡ ዘኃልቁ፡	C
		– ለደቂቁ፡ ኃልቁ፡	ε
§55	ላዕሌሆሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	እግዚአብሔር፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡	βS
§56	እዴሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡	ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እዴሁ፡	F
§59	ወኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ሁከት፡ ጥቀ፡	ዓቢይ፡ ሁከት፡ ጥቀ፡ ኮነ፡	F
§60	ትንበር፡ ውስተ፡ መካና፡	ውስተ፡ መካና፡ ትንበር፡	F
§61	ወዓርገ፡ ጽርሐ፡ ሀገር፡ እስከ፡ ሰማይ	ወዓርገ፡ እስከ፡ ሰማይ፡ ጽራኃ፡ ሀገር፡	F
§63	ወለሰብእ፡ መቅስም፡ ወለሰብእ፡ ሥራይ፡	ወለሰብእ፡ ሥራይ፡ ወለሰብእ፡ መቅስም፡	δ
§64	ዓቢየ፡ ቅንዓተ፡	ቅንዓተ፡ ዓቢየ፡	F
§§66, 72	ኃምስቱ፡ መሣፍንት፡	መሣፍንት፡ ፭፡	C
§73	ሰብእ፡ እለ፡ ተርፉ፡	እለ፡ ተርፉ፡ ሰብእ፡	S
§74	ወመጽኡ፡ ወተቀበልዋ፡	ወተቀበልዋ፡ ወመጽኡ፡	S
§75	ወነሥአሙ፡ ዳዊት፡	ዳዊት፡ ወነሥአሙ፡	F
§75	እምጎበ፡ ሀለወት፡ ጽዮን፡	ለጽዮን፡ እምጎበ፡ ሀለወት፡	CS
§76	ላዕሌሃ፡ ኪሩብ፡	ኪሩብ፡ ላዕሌሃ፡	S
§78	አንተ፡ ውስቴታ፡	ውስቴታ፡ አንተ፡	S
§84	ዘተሐንጽ፡ ሊተ፡ ቤተ፡	ዘተሐንጽ፡ ቤተ፡ ሊተ፡	F
§85	ፈቃዱ፡ ለይኩን፡	ለይኩን፡ ፈቃዱ፡	S
§86	ወታቦት፡ ነበረት፡	ወነበረት፡ ታቦት፡	C
§86	ሣረሮ፡ ለቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	ለቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሣረሮ፡	S
§87	ወበእመት፡ ፵፡ ኑኁ፡	– ፵፡ በእመት፡ ኑኁ፡	C
		– በእመት፡ ፵፡ ኑኁ፡	S
§92	ዘያገምር፡ ፵፡ በመስፈርተ፡ ኮአስ፡	– ዘያገምር፡ በመስፈርተ፡ ኮአስ፡ ፵፡	A
		– ዘያገምር፡ በመስፈርተ፡ ኮአስ፡ ፵ዓ፡	δ
§93	እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪፡	– እግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡	A
		– ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡	δ
		– እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪፡	C
§94	ኪሩብ፡ ፪፡	፪፡ ኪሩብ፡	λ
§98	ቅድስት፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡	ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቅድስት፡	β
§100	ወኪራምኒ፡ ከመ፡ አቡሁ፡ ጠቢብ	ወኪራምኒ፡ ጠቢብ፡ ከመ፡ አቡሁ፡	CS

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Section	Reconstructed text	Transposition	Family / MS(S)
§ 103	ወገብረ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ ንጉሥኒ፡ ወኵሎሙ፡	ወገብሩ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡	
	እስራኤል፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡	ንጉሥኒ፡ ወኵሎሙ፡ እስራኤል፡	C
§ 114	እክለ፡ ኢበላዕኩ፡	ኢበላዕኩ፡ እክለ፡	δ
§ 114	ወኢሰተይኩ፡ ወይነ፡	ወወይነ፡ ኢሰተይኩ፡	C
§ 116	ምንተ፡ ኮንኪ፡ ንግርኒ፡	ንግርኒ፡ ምንተ፡ ኮንኪ፡	C
§ 117	ተጎዝኒ፡ በእንተ፡ ፩፡ ወልድኪ፡	በእንተ፡ ፩፡ ወልድ፡ ተጎዝኒ፡	C
§ 119	ዘመጻእከ፡ ጎቤየ፡ ቀዲሙ፡	ዘመጻእከ፡ ቀዲሙ፡ ጎቤየ፡	S
§ 120	ወይቤለኒ፡ ስምዓኒ፡ እንግርከ፡	ስምዓኒ፡ እንግርከ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡	β
§ 121	ዘወለደቶ፡ ወልዳ፡	ወልዳ፡ ዘወለደቶ፡	S
§ 122	ብዙኅ፡ በእንቲአሃ፡	በእንቲአሃ፡ ብዙኃ፡	C
§ 125	ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡	ለእምነ፡ ጽዮን፡	C
§ 126	ፀሐየ፡ ወወርኃ፡ ወከዋክብተ፡	ወወርኃ፡ ፀሐየ፡ ወከዋክብተ፡	F
§ 128	ሀገር፡ ሐዳስ፡	ሐዳስ፡ ሀገር፡	S
§ 129	ሰማዕታት፡ ወጻድቃን፡	ጻድቃን፡ ወሰማዕታት፡	C
§ 129	ቀሳውስት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ እድ፡ ወአንስት፡	– ዲያቆናት፡ ወቀሳውስት፡ እድ፡ ወአንስት፡	β
		– እድ፡ ወአንስት፡ ዲያቆናት፡ ወቀሳውስት፡	C
§ 131	በየማና፡ ወበፀጋማ፡	በፀጋማ፡ ወበየማና፡	C
§ 134	ክርታሰ፡ ወቀለመ፡	ቀለመ፡ ወክርታሰ፡	C

2.1.2 Banal Error[76]

In the course of copying a manuscript, scribes may (often unconsiously) substitute for a word (or expression) a different, synonymous or near-synonymous word (expression). The change may involve a difference in vocabulary, grammar, spelling or any combination of these. Banal errors can easily recur independently, and as such are categorized under polygenetic errors. Let us examine some attested banal errors in DṢ families and manuscripts.

76 'Banal', in this section, is used to describe readings that are synonymous or involve only a slight change of meaning.

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TABLE 2 *Banalization*

Section	Reconstructed text	Banal error	Type of error/ change[77]	Family/ MS(S)
§ 8	በመንገለ፡ ሠርቅ፡	በመንገለ፡ ምሥራቅ፡	Voc.	D
§ 8	ምጽአታ፡	ምጽአተ፡ ዚአሃ፡	Gr.	C
§ 9	ክበዲሃ፡	ክበዳ፡	Gr.	C
§ 14	በአጻብአ፡ መለኮት፡	በአጻብዒሁ፡ ለመለኮት፡	Gr.	A
		በአጻብኢሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡	Voc.	δ
§ 15	ዕብራይስጢ፡	ዕብራይስጥ፡	Spell.	DS
§ 18	ትእዛዞ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡	ትእዛዞሙ፡ (sic)		
		ለእግዚአብሔር፡	Gr.	δ
		ትእዛዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	Gr.	D
§ 27	አገትዋ፡	አደውዋ፡	Voc.	δ
§ 28	ኵሎሙ፡ እስራኤል፡	ኵሎሙ፡ ደቂቀ፡ እስራኤል፡	Voc.	δ
		ኵሎሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ እስራኤል፡	Voc.	C
		እስራኤል፡ ኵሎሙ	Gr.	F
		ኵሎሙ፡ ፭ኤል፡	Spell.	S
§ 29	ወዮርዳኖስኒ፡	ወዮርዳኖስሂ፡	Gr.	P
§ 31	ዘይከውን፡ ለቤተ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡	ዘይከውን፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡	Voc.	S
§ 32	ንግሥትነ፡	እግዝእትነ፡	Voc.	δ
§ 33	ጋይኒ፡	ጋይሂ፡	Gr.	λQS
§ 35	ተሐልዩ፡	ትሴብሑ፡	Voc.	δ
§ 35	ቅዱሳን፡ ወትጉሃን፡	ትጉሃን፡ መላእክት፡	Voc.	C
§ 42	ይሳለምዋ፡	ይሳምዋ፡	Voc.	D
§ 46	ወቦኡ፡	ወገብኡ፡	Voc.	C
§ 46	ሀገሮሙ፡	ብሔሮሙ፡	Voc.	C
§ 47	ምስለ፡ ኪሩብ	ሥዕለ፡ ኪሩቤል፡	Voc.	δ
§ 48	አመንሰውዋ፡	አማሰንዋ፡	Voc.	C
§ 51	እደ፡ አምላክነ፡	እደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡	Voc.	C
§ 53	በእስራኤል፡	ላዕለ፡ እስራኤል፡	Voc.	F
§ 57	ታቦቱ፡ ለአምላከ፡ እስራኤል፡	ታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ ለአምላከ፡		
		እስራኤል፡	Voc.	δ
		ታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ እስራኤል፡	Gr.	C
		ታቦቱ፡ ለአምላክነ፡	Gr. & Voc.	S
§ 57	ዲቤነ፡	ላዕሌነ፡	Voc.	λ

77 Gr. = 'Gramatical error or change'; Spell. = 'spelling error or change'; Voc. = 'vocabulary'.

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Section	Reconstructed text	Banal error	Type of error/ change	Family/ MS(S)
§60	ትንበር፡ ውስተ፡ መካና፡	ትእቱ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡	Voc.	C
§61	ዲበ፡	ላዕለ፡	Voc.	δ
§61	ወምውታንሂ፡	– ወሙታን፡	Gr.	δ
		– ወሙታንሂ፡	Gr.	CS
§62	ታቦተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክነ፡	ታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ እስራኤል፡	Voc.	C
		ታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ ፭ኤል፡	Voc.	S
§62	ቁርናነዓተ፡	ቁርነናዓተ፡	Voc.	δK
		ቁርነንዓት፡	Voc.	C
		ቁርነናተ፡	Voc.	DF
		ቁርነነዓተ፡	Voc.	S
§63	ወውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡	ወውእተ፡ አሚረ፡	Voc.	δ
§64	ሀገራ፡	መካና፡	Voc.	C
§71	ታቦተ፡ ሕግ፡ ዘአምላከ፡ እስራኤል	ታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ እስራኤል፡	Voc.	C
		ታቦት፡ ዘአምላከ፡ ፭ኤል፡	Voc.	S
§74	ወግር፡	ደብር፡	Voc.	C
§76	ወዳዊትሰ፡	ወዳዊትኒ፡	Gr.	C
§79 (trice)	ለአቢዳራ፡	ለአቢደራ፡	Spell.	C
§80	ሕዝብ፡	ሰብእ፡	Voc.	S
§82	ወለቱ፡ ለሳያል፡	ወለተ፡ ሳያል፡	Gr.	FS
§86	ደቂቀ፡ ኪራም፡	ደቀ፡ ኪራም፡	Voc.	CS
§86	ወደቂቀ፡ ዚአሁ፡	ደቀ፡ ዚአሁ፡	Voc.	C
§87	እም፡ ዳቤር፡	እምነ፡ ዳቤር፡	Gr.	C
§95	ወዕፀ፡ ጳውቂና፡	ወዕፀወ፡ ጳውቂና፡	Gr.	δC
§97	መዓዝኒሃ፡	መንገሌሃ፡	Voc.	C
§99	ወምግባርየኒ፡	ወበምግባርየሰ፡	Gr.	C
§100	ንትመየጥኬ፡	ንግባእኬ፡	Voc.	β
§101	ለታቦት፡	ለታቦተ፡ ሕግ፡	Voc.	C
§101	በመትሕተ፡	መትሕተ፡	Gr.	λ
§111	ወለነቢያትሰ፡	ወለነቢያትኒ፡	Gr.	δC
§116	ላዕለ፡	ዲበ፡	Voc.	S
§117	፩፡ ወልድየ፡	ዋሕድ፡ ወልድየ፡	Spell.	S
§117	ወአንቲሰ፡	ወአንቲኒ፡	Gr.	S
§118	ወኢትኔጽርያኑ፡	ኢትሬኢዩኒ፡	Voc. & Gr.	C
§118	መኃትዊነ፡	ማኅቶትነ፡	Gr.	S
§119	ተከዘ፡	ደንገፀ፡	Voc.	δ

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TABLE 2 *Banalization* (cont.)

Section	Reconstructed text	Banal error	Type of error/ change	Family/ MS(S)
§§ 119, 123	**ዑራኤል፡**	**ኡሩኤል፡**	Spell.	C
		ኡርኤል፡	Spell.	FS
§ 122	**ማኅልያቲሃ፡**	**መኅልያቲሃ፡**	Spell.	ẟFS
		ማኅልያሃ፡	Spell.	C
§§ 131, 133	**መኃትዊሃ፡**	**ማኃተዊሃ፡**	Spell.	ẟλ
		መሃትዊትሃ፡ (sic)	Spell. & Gr.	S
		ማኃትዊሃኒ፡	Gr.	ẟ
§ 132	**ወፍካሬሁሰ፡**	**ወፍካሬሁኒ፡**	Gr.	C
§ 138	**ክርስቲያን፡**	**ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን**	Voc.	F
		ክርስቶሳውያን፡	Voc.	S

2.1.3 Omission

Omission is a frequent phenomenon in the course of transmitting texts. Sometimes the omission occurs when the eye of the copyist jumps from a word (or phrase) to the identical word (or phrase) occurring in the next line/s, paragraph or even page. This is termed *homoioteleuton*.[78] Omissions of all kinds are grouped under polygenetic errors and cannot be useful in showing the shared family features. As we have said repeatedly, they can strengthen the kinship, though it is a weak parameter. The following list shows omissions of readings that appear in some families or manuscript(s) which affect the meaning of the text as it stands.

[§ 38] **ሎቱ፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ እስመ፡ ኃረያ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወአብደራ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩኖ፡ ማኅደሮ።** om. Q.

[§ 52] **አምላኮሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ አምላክነ፡ ዳኅን።** om. C.

[§ 68] **ወሶበ፡ ከብደ፡ እዴሁ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ ፈነዎሙ፡ ፈርያን።** om. C.

[§ 73] **ወእምድኅረ፡ ገብረት፡ ዘንተ፡ ይቤሎ፡ ሰብአ፡ ሳሚስ፡ ምንተ፡ ንግበር፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን።** om. β.

[§ 75] **ታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር።** om. S.

[§ 76] **ወልደ፡ አሚናዳብ፡ ይመርህ።** om. F.

78 This 'jumping' phenomenon can occur at the beginning, at the end, or in the middle of a line; and at the beginning, at the end, or in the middle of a sentence.

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[§78] **ወበእንተ፡ ጽዮን። ወይቤ፡ ዳዊት፡ እፈርህ፡ እግዚኦ፡ እግዚአብሔር።** om. F.
[§80] **ወሶበ፡ ሰምዐ፡ ዳዊት፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ሖረ፡ ከመ፡ ያምጽኣ፡ ለጽዮን።** om. C.
[§80] **ታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ እስራኤል፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ በትፍሥሕት፡ ወነሥኣ፡ ለጽዮን።** om. λ.
[§87] **ወገብረ፡ መሳክወ፡ ኅቡአተ።** om. δ.
[§95] **ንጽሐ፡ ሥጋሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም።** om. δ.
[§99] **አንሰ፡ ኢተምህርኩ፡ መጻሕፍተ።** om. C.
[§119] **ወአቀመኒ፡ ርቱዓ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡** om. δ.
[§129] **ወከማሁ፡ አ፡ ጽዮን፡ ንግሢ፡ ላዕለ።** om. C.
[§130] **ወከማሁ፡ አስተፍሥሒዮ፡ ለገብርኪ፡** ‡…‡ **ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም።** om. δCD.
[§132] **ለጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ እግዝእትነ።** om. S.
[§133] **እማንቱ፡ እለ፡ ተሐንጻ፡ በአምሳለ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ዘላዕሉ፡ ወመሣውሪሃ፡ ፮፡ ሥዩማን፡ ዘቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን።** om. β.
[§137] **ዘይትአመን፡ ኪያሃ፡ እንበለ፡ ነቲግ፡ ከመ፡ ታድኅኖ፡ እም፡ እደ፡ ሞት፡ ጸዋግ፡ ምስለ፡** ‡…‡ **በደርግ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።** om. δ.
[§138] **ወምስለ፡ ጸሐፊሁ፡ ምስኪን፡ ዘኃጢአቱ፡ አጥናን።** om. ε.
[§139] **ወጌጋየ፡ ወጸሐፌ፡ ስምየ፡ ኅበ፡ ዓምደ፡ ብርሃን።** om. D.
[§139] **ኅጡአ፡ አእምሮ፡ ወኪን፡** om. DFξ.
[§139] **ኃጥእ፡ ወምኑን፡ ኅጡአ፡ አእምሮ፡ ወኪን። ወምስለ፡ ኵልነ፡ ሰማዕያን፡ ለዓለመ።** om. D.

2.2 *Vowel Spelling:* -i- *Alternating with* -ə-

In Gəʿəz, spelling alternation can occur between *-əy* and *-iy*, especially (but not only) in the plural of words ending in *-awi*;[79] that is, *-awiyan* ~ *-awəyan* and *-awiyan* ~ *-awəyat*. Examples in DṢ are:

[§13] [T] **እስራኤላዊያን፡ ~ እስራኤላውያን፡.**
[§26] [K] **ኢሰማያዊያን፡ ወኢምድራዊያን፡ ~ ኢሰማያውያን፡ ወኢምድራውያን፡.**
[§58] [ε] and [§59] [K] **ጌታዊያን፡ ~ ጌታውያን፡.**
[§126] [A] **አበዊየ፡ ~ አበውየ፡.**

Slightly different is the alternation **ፈኒዎታ፡ ~ ፈንዎታ፡** by [A] in [§67 twice], discussed by Lambdin (1978: 134) with regard to the infinitive of III-weak verbs (verbs with final root *w* or *y*).

2.3 *Number*

There are many cases in Gəʿəz where one word may have two alternate plurals: sometimes two different broken plurals, sometimes a broken plural and a

79 Cf. Lambdin 1978: 12.

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sound plural, sometimes a doubly marked plural. In the following list (Table 3), we see broken plurals and plural of plurals alternating in various families of the text.

TABLE 3 *Number*

Section	Reconstructed text	Alternative plural	Family / MS(S)
§ 29	**አዕጋሪሆሙ፡**	**እገሪሆሙ፡**	δD
§ 34	**ለነገሥታት፡**	**ለነገሥት፡**	PS
§§ 46–48, 63	**ለኢሎፍሊ፡**	**ለኢሎፍላውያን፡**[80]	CS
§§ 68, 69, 71	**ዕጕላተ፡**	– **ዕጕላት፡**	BS
		– **ዕጓላተ፡**	λDT(twice each)
		– **በዕጕሊሆን፡**	λξS
		– **በዕጕሊሆሙ፡**	ε
§ 68	**ወዕጕሊሆን፡**	– **ወዕጓሊሆን፡**	C
		– **ወዕጓላቲሆን፡**	F
§ 68	**ለዕጕላት፡**	**ለዕጓላት፡**	λT
§ 69	**ዕጕላት፡**	– **ዕጕልት፡**	δCS
		– **ዕጓላት፡**	F
§ 86, 133	**ደቂቀ፡**	– **ደቀ፡**	C(twice)DS
		– **ደቂቃ፡** (sic)	P
§ 101	**ሊቃናተ፡**	**ሊቃነ፡**	F
§ 116	**ስጡጥ፡**	**ስጡጣት፡**	F
§ 129	**ሰማዕታት፡**	**ሰማዕት፡**	F

2.4 *Metathesis*

Metathesis is evident in Geʿez; common examples are the verbs *näsäkä*/*näkäsä* 'he bites'[81] *däqḥa*/*qädḥa* 'he dedicates, consecrates'.[82] Some families or manuscripts of DṢ show metathesis in the word **መቅድሕ፡** ~ **መድቅሕ፡**.

80 In most cases [C] uses the plural form of **ለኢሎፍላውያን፡** 'Philistines'.

81 See Moscati 1964: 63. However, *näkäsä* 'he bites' is an Amharism according to Leslau (1987: 397).

82 Cf. Dillmann 1865: 460, 1098; Leslau 1987: 139, 420.

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TABLE 4 *Metathesis*

Section	Reconstructed text	Metathesis	Family/MS(S)
§ 81	ለመድቅሐ፡ ዚአሃ፡	ለመቅድሐ፡ ዚአሃ፡	DFST
§ 104	መቅድሐ፡ ሕንጻሁ፡	– ወለመድቅሐ፡ ሕንጼሃ፡	C
		– መድቅሐ፡ ሕንጻሁ፡	Q
§ 104	ለመቅድሐ፡ ቤተ፡	ለመድቅሐ፡ ቤተ፡	
	እግዚአብሔር።	እግዚአብሔር፡	ϑCQ
§ 126	በአስተርክቦ፡ ስብሐት፡	በአስተብርኮ፡ ስብሐት፡	ϑ

2.5 *Word Separation*

In some families of DṢ, we observe that words with the particle ዘ- and other words (especially foreign words) are separated into two words.[83] Table 5 shows these cases.

2.6 *Other Linguistic Features*

There are also other linguistic features in the families and subfamilies or manuscripts of DṢ. Let us examine the following.

TABLE 5 *Word Separation*

Section	Reconstructed text	Word separation	Family/MS(S)
§ 41	ለዘኮነቶ፡	ለዘ፡ ኮነቶ፡	T
§ 42	ለዘቀደሳ፡	ለዘ፡ ቀደሳ፡	T
§ 46 (twice)	ኢሎፍሊ፡	ኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡	A
§ 47	ለኢሎፍሊ፡	ለኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡	A
§ 92	ኪጥሮገውሎስ፡	– ኬጥሮ፡ ገውሎስ፡	A
		– ኬጥሮ፡ ጋውሎስ፡ (twice)	C
§ 111	ናቡከደነጾር፡	– ናቡ፡ ከደነ፡ ጻር፡ (sic)	A
		– ናቡከደነ፡ ፆር፡	DF
§ 114	እምዘ፡ ወድቀት፡	እምዘወድቀት፡[84]	ϑS

83 Furthermore, [F] has the reading of the name ፍሬ፡ ምናሞስ፡ 'Frumentius' in (ff. 27va, 27^{vb}, 28va, 28^{vb} (twice)), which is usually considered as one name ፍሬምናሞስ።.

84 In this case I have reconstructed the separated form.

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2.6.1 Deletion

We can see deletion in some witnesses of DṢ. The usual Ethiopic form of the name **አፍኒን፡ ወፊንሐስ፡** is shortened to **አፍኒ፡ ፊንሐስ፡** in K [§47] and **አፍኒ፡ ወፊንሐስ፡** in Dξ [§47] and C [§50]. The last radical of the name **አፍኒን፡** and the conjunction **ወ-** between the two names are deleted.

2.6.2 Labialization (Orthography)

There is labialization of *-l-* in the following manuscripts against the rest of the families: [P] gives the reading **ድሎትየ፡** in [§6], against **ድልወትየ፡**. [Q] in [§77] also has the reading **በኢ.ድሎቱ፡** against **በኢ.ድልወቱ፡**. Similarly, in [§114], *-l-* is labialized due to the succeeding vowel *-u-* [> *-w-*], which then gets deleted. The majority of the families have the verb **ሀሎኩ፡**, against **ሀለውኩ፡** by [Fεξ] in [§116]. Geʿez of course readily allows such a feature. Finally, in [§§131–132], we notice that [A] has the reading **ተቋመ፡** instead of **ተቅዋመ፡** seen in the rest of the families.

2.6.3 Insertion of Phonetic Glide

MS [C] has the reading **ጌታ·ያውያን፡** 'the Geta-ites' in [§58] and **ጌቴያውያን፡** in [§59]. It inserts the phonetic glide **-ያ-** [*ya*] in the text against the original reading **ጌታውያን፡**. This may be due to the anticipation of *-y-* by the copyist; as a result, a phonetic glide is inserted.

2.6.4 Feminine Marker

The feminine marker in Ethiopic, as in Semitic in general, is *-t*. There are also some cases where a feminine noun uses no *-t*. **ድንግል፡** 'virgin', for instance, can be used for both masculine and feminine. Nevertheless, some witnesses (AB and KT) in DṢ give the feminine form as **ድንግልት፡** in [§135].

2.6.5 Punctuation

Ethiopic manuscripts preserve various kinds of punctuation marks. They have been carefully registered in this edition.[85] There are some peculiar punctuation marks attested in some DṢ families and manuscripts. We can find much more unusual punctuation marks in manuscripts written prior to the 13th or 14th cent. AD. Among the ten witnesses, [K], [Q], [S] and [T] preserve the old form of full stop [፠] as instead of four dots [⁘].

85 Cf. Dillmann 1907: 33; Marrassini 1992: 513–520; Bausi 2008: 36.

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SECTION 2

Text Edition and Translation

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CHAPTER 4

Critical Edition

ዘጽዮን*

(1) $_{1}$፦በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ፩፡ አምላክ[1]። $_{2}$በስመ፡ ክስብኤል፡ ወቢቃ[2]፡ ወአካዕ[3]። $_{3}$ዝውእቱ፡ ምስጢር[4]፡ ኀቡእ፡ ዘታዕካ[5]፡ ሰማይ[6]፡ ልኩዕ። $_{4}$ዘኢይትአመር[7]፡ ክዋኔሁ፡ በሕሊና፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ። $_{5}$ዘኢይትወቀር[8]፡ በጉድበ[9]፡ ዕልዋን፡ ወዘኢይትመዋእ[10]፡ ለፀብእ። $_{6}$ጌርጌላሁ[11]፡ ለንጻስ[12]፡ ወደብተራሁ[13]፡ ሥሩዕ። (2) $_{1}$መብረቅ[1]፡ አውዱ፡ ወአፍራሲሁኒ[2]፡ ፪[3]። $_{2}$ስብሐቲሁ፡ ብዙኅ፡ በአፈ፡ ትጉሃን፡ ምሉእ። $_{3}$ዘሀሎ፡ እምቅ[A1^{ra}]ድ[D41^{ra}]መ፡ ዓለማት[4]፡ ወሰማ[F1^{ra}]ይኒ[5]፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይጣዕጣዕ። $_{4}$ገባሬ፡ መላእክት፡ በመንፈስ፡ አፉሁ፡ [C1^{r}] ፦እም፡ ፪[6]፡ ጠባይዕ። $_{5}$ዘፈጠ[T25^{rb}]ሮ፡ ለአዳም፡ ዘበአርአያሁ[7]፡ ወአምሳሊሁ[8]፡ ዘየማነ[9]፡ እዴሁ፡ ጽኑእ። (3) $_{1}$ዘአስተናበረ፡ ፦ዓለማተ፡ ወአዝማናተ[1]፡ እስከ፡ ፍጻሜ፡ በማኅተመ[2]፡ ሰብእ[3]። $_{2}$ጥበበ፡ ዚአሁ፡ ብዙኅ[4]፡ በነጊር፡ ዘኢይትዌዳእ። [B1^{r}] $_{3}$፩[5]፡ አምላክ፡ ወ፩[6]፡ እግዚእ፡ ፦አብ፡ ወ[Q1^{ra}]ወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ[7]፡ ዘኢይሰደቅ፡ ፦ዘእም፡ ፩[8]፡ ነቅዕ። $_{4}$ሎቱ፡ ይደሉ፡ ስብሐት፡ [A1^{rb}] በአፈ፡ ኵሉ፡ ፍጥረት። $_{5}$መበል[D41^{rb}]ሳን[9]፡ ጸያፍ፡ ወላዕ[S137^{ra}]ላዕ[10]፡ ፦ለዓለመ፡ ዓ[F1^{rb}]ለም፡ አሜን[11]።

(4) $_{1}$እኬልሕ፡ ወአነክር[1]፡ እሴብሕ፡ ወእዜምር፡ ለክብረ፡ በዓላ፡ [C1^{v}] በተቅዋመ[2]፡ ማኅቶት፡ ዘወርቅ፡ እግዝእትነ[3]፡ ንጽሕት፡ ወብርህት፡ ጽዮን፡ ሰማያዊት[4]፡ ታቦተ[5]፡ ሕግ፡ ዘበአማ[T25^{va}]ን፡ ዘይሴብሕዋ[6]፡ ሰማያውያን፡ ወምድራውያን። (5) $_{1}$አልቦ፡ ፦ዘከማሃ፡ ዘይትዔረያ[1]፡ [P1] ፦በስን፡ ወበላሕይ[2]፡ በክብር፡ ወበዕበይ[3]፡ ዘእንበለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ባሕቲቱ። (6) $_{1}$ወሶበ፡ [A1^{r}]^{c} አንሶሰወ፡ አእጋረ[1]፡ ሕሊናየ፡ ውስተ፡ አዕጻዲሃ[2]፡ ተፈሣሕኩ፡ እንዘ፡ እብል፡ አነብብ[3]፡ ወእተረጉም[4]፡ እንበለ፡ ድልወትየ[5]። $_{2}$በቀ[F1^{va}]ዳሚ[6]፡ ገብረ፡ [D41^{va}] እግዚአብሔር፡ ሰማየ[7]። ወምድርኒ[8]፡ [B1^{v}] ፦ሀለወት፡ እምትካት[9]። [C2^{r}]

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1 Consulted (ABCDFPQST [§§1–4]), (ABCDFKPQST [§§4–135]) | * ዘሰኑይ፡ AB | ዘሙሴ፡ C | not mentioned DFS | ድርሳነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘሰኑይ፡ P. [1] በስመ፡ ... አምላክ፡] om. C | [2] ቢቃ፡ C | [3] ወአክዕ፡ T | [4] om. S | [5] በታዕካ፡ BP | [6] ሰማያት፡ C | [7] ዘኢይተአመር፡ B; ኢይኤመር፡ C; ዘኢይትአምር፡ P | [8] ዘኢይወቅር፡ D | [9] በጉድብ፡ D | [10] ወኢይትመዋዕ፡ CP; ወዘኢትመዋዕ፡ S | [11] ጌልጌላሁ፡ F| [12] ለንጻስ፡ BD | [13] ወደብተራስ፡ D.

2[1] መብረቀ፡ ð; ወ᾽ S | [2] አፍራሲሁ፡ ð; ወአፍራሲሁ፡ F | [3] ፪፡ ðQS; አርባዕ፡ C | [4] ዓለም፡ C | [5] በሰማይኒ፡ ð; ወሰማየ፡ S | [6] እምነ፡ ፩፡ ξFS; እምነ፡ ፪፡ ð; | [7] ዘበአርያሁ፡ D; በአርአያሁ፡ ðCS | [8] ወበአምሳሊሁ፡ ðCDS | [9] በየማነ፡ CS.

3[1] አዝማናተ፡ ወአመታተ፡ C | [2] በማኅተም፡ AFξ | [3] ሰብአ፡ F | [4] ብዙኅ፡ C | [5] ፩ዱ፡ P | [6] ፩ዱ፡ ð | [7] ᾽ሥሉስ፡ C; om. P | [8] እም፡ አሐዱ፡ ðC | [9] ወበልሳንየ፡ C | [10] ወበላዕላዕ፡ D; om. ð | [11] ለዓለም፡ ዓለዓለም፡ (sic) F.

4[1] ወእነግር፡ C | [2] ለተቅዋመ፡ ðφDS | [3] ወመድኃኒትነ፡ add. C | [4] om. C | [5] starts to be consulted hereafter K | [6] ወይሴብሕዋ፡ F; ዘይሴብሕዎ፡ P.

5[1] ዘይትዔረያ፡ ዘከማሃ፡ ð; ወዘይትኤረያ፡ C | [2] በሥን፡ ላሕይ፡ S | [3] ወዕበይ፡ F.

6[1] እግረ፡ CP | [2] አዕጻዳቲሃ፡ S | [3]አንብብ፡ A; ወአንብብ፡ C; እነብብ፡ P | [4] ወእትመረጕዝ፡ F | [5] ድሎትየ፡ P | [6] በቀዳሚ፡ B | [7] ወምድረ፡ add. D | [8] ወምድረ፡ βS; ወምድርሰ፡ λ | [9] om. AB, ወካዕበ፡ ሀለ᾽ P.

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(7) $_{1a}$ወአተሉ፡ ካዕበ፡ $_{a}$ወእቤ^{2}፡ ደብረ^{3}፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘአፍቀረ፡ ሐነጸ^{4}፡ መቅ[Q1^{rb}]ደሶ፡ በአርያም። $_{2}$ወሣረራ፡ ውስተ፡ ምድር፡ ዘለዓለም። $_{3}$ምድር^{5}፡ ህሉት^{6}፡ ይእቲ፡ እ[K1^{va}]ምቅድመ፡ ዓለም። (8) $_{1}$ጽዮን፡ ሰማያዊት፡ እንተ፡ ይ[T25^{vb}]እቲ፡ ማኅደሮሙ^{1}፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ዘትነግሥ^{2}፡ ⸢ለዓለ[A1^{va}]መ፡ ዓለም^{3}። $_{2}$ምስለ፡ እሊአሃ፡ ወብርሃነ፡ በግዑ፡ እንዘ^{4}፡ ያበርህ፡ ላቲ^{5}። $_{3}$ደብረ፡ ጽዮን፡ ሀለወት፡ ⸢በመንገለ፡ ሠርቅ^{6}፡ ⸢እንተ፡ ባቲ፡ በገቦ፡ [F1^{vb}] መስዕ^{7}። (9) $_{1}$ሀገሩ፡ ለ[S137^{rb}]ንጉሥ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ዘይጸንሑ^{1}፡ ምጽአታ^{2}፡ ጻድቃን፡ ወሰማ[D41^{vb}]ዕት^{3}፡ ዘተካፈሉ፡ ክበዲሃ^{4}። $_{2}$ወእግዚ[C2^{v}]አብሔር፡ ⸢የአምር፡ ኵሎ^{5}፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ይኩን። $_{3}$ኃረያ፡ ለጽዮን^{6}፡ ወሣረራ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩኖ፡ ማኅደሮ። $_{4}$ወይቤ፡ ⸢ውስቴታ፡ አኃድር^{7}፡ እስመ፡ ሠመርክዋ^{8}፡ ወኃረይክዋ።

(10) $_{1}$አማን^{1}፡ አእሚሮ^{2}፡ ⸢እግዚእ፡ እ[K1^{vb}]ግዚአብሔር^{3}፡ በከ[A1^{vb}]መ፡ ሣረራ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምቀዳሚት^{4}፡ ወአመ^{5}፡ አውጽኦሙ፡ ለሕዝ[T26^{ra}]ቡ፡ እምግብረ፡ ግንፋል፡ ወእምቤተ፡ ቅንየት^{6}። [B2^{r}] $_{2}$ወይቤሎ^{7}፡ ለሙሴ፡ ገብሩ፡ [F2^{ra}] ወኀቢዩ፡ አመ፡ ዓ[Q1^{rc}]ርገ^{8}፡ ውስተ፡ ደብረ፡ ሲና፡ ቁመኒ፡ ዝየ። (11) $_{1}$አልቦ^{1}፡ ዘዓርገ^{2}፡ ምስሌከ^{3}። $_{2}$ወአልቦ፡ ዘይሄሉ^{4}፡ ው[C3^{r}]ስተ፡ ርእሰ^{5}፡ ደብር፡ ዘእንበሌከ። $_{3}$ወፍታሕ^{6}፡ አሣዕኒከ፡ እም[D42^{ra}]እገሪከ፡ እስመ^{7}፡ ምድር፡ ⸢ኅበ፡ ትቀውም^{8}፡ ቅድስት፡ ይእቲ። [P2] $_{4}$ወሶበ፡ ፈጸመ፡ ⸢ተናግሮ፡ ዘንተ^{9}፡ ወዘይመስሎ፡ ወሀበ^{10}፡ ⸢ጽላተ፡ ዘትእዛዝ^{11}፡ ውስ[A1^{vc}]ተ፡ እዴሁ። $_{5}$ወጽሐፉት፡ እንተ፡ ፪ሆን^{12}፡ ገበዋቲሁ፡ እንተ^{13}፡ ለፈ^{14}፡ ⸢ወእንተ፡ ለፈኒ^{15}። [K2^{ra}] (12) $_{1}$ወጽሕፈቶንሂ^{1}፡ ጽሕፈተ^{2}፡ እግዚአብሔር^{3}፡ ውእቱ። $_{2}$ወግሉፍ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽሌሁ^{4}፡ ስመ^{5}፡ እግዚአብ[F2^{rb}]ሔር፡ የውጣ፡ ወልደ፡ [T26^{rb}] እግዚ[S137^{va}]አብሔር፡ ውእቱ፡ በምስጢር። $_{3}$ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለሙሴ^{6}፡ [C3^{v}] ወሀብኩከ^{7}፡ ዘንተ፡ ጽላተ፡ ዘኪዳን። $_{4}$እስመ፡ በዝንቱ፡ ነገር፡ አቀውም፡ ኪዳንየ^{8}፡ ዘምስለ^{9}፡ ኵሎሙ፡ እስራኤል^{10}። (13) [D42^{rb}] $_{1}$ወዘንተ^{1}፡ ሶበ^{2}፡ ይቤሎ^{3}፡ ለሙሴ^{4}፡ [B2^{v}] አእሚሮ^{5}፡ [A2^{ra}] ‡...‡ ውስተ፡ ከርሣ^{6}፡ ለማርያም^{7}፡ እ[Q1^{va}]ንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕግ፡ ዘኪዳን። $_{2}$ወከመ^{8}፡ ይድኃኑ፡ ባቲ^{9}፡ ምዕመናን፡ ዘውእቶሙ፡ እስራኤላውያን^{10}።

7^{1} አተሉ፡ C | $^{2}_{a\text{-}a}$ ጽዮን፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ነቢይ፡ P | ^{3} በደብረ፡ B | ^{4} ወሐነጸ፡ AKFξ | ^{5} om. C; ምድርኒ፡ S | ^{6} ድሉት፡ ወህሉት፡ C. 8^{1} ማኅበሮሙ፡ Fξ | ^{2}ዘይነግሥ፡ S | ^{3}ለዓለም፡ BF; አሜን፡ add. D | ^{4}om. C | ^{5} ላዕሌሃ፡ C | ^{6} 'ምሥራቅ፡ D; መንገለ፡ ምስራቅ፡ SK | ^{7} እንተ፡ በገቦ፡ መስዕ፡ ፅ; እንተ፡ ገቦ፡ መስዕ፡ C; እንተ፡ ባቲ፡ መስዕ፡ D. 9^{1} ዘይጸይሑ፡ A; ይጸንሑ፡ F; ዘይጽንሑ፡ DB; ይእቲ፡' C | ^{2} ምጽአተ፡ ዚአሃ: C | ^{3} መዋዕያን፡ add. C| ^{4} ክበዳ፡ C | ^{5} ' ኵሉ፡ AP; ዘየ' εFT | ^{6} ለጽን፡ (sic.) D | ^{7} አኃድር፡ ውስቴታ፡ ፅ | ^{8} om. βD. 10^{1} om. C | ^{2} ወ' C; om. ፅ | ^{3} እግዚአብሔር፡ እግዚእ፡ βD | ^{4} እምቅድመ፡ ዓለማት፡ C | ^{5} አመ፡ ፅ | ^{6} ቅኔያት፡ C | ^{7} እግዚአብሔር፡ add. C | ^{8} om. C. 11^{1} ወ' ፅ | ^{2} ዘየዓርግ፡ Cε | ^{3} ዘምስሌከ፡ AKξ | ^{4} ምስሌከ፡ add. S | ^{5} om. S | ^{6} ፍታሕ፡ C | ^{7} ዘትከይዳ፡ add. ፅ | ^{8} om. A; ትቀውም፡ S | ^{9} ዘንተ፡ ተናጊሮ፡ ፅD; ዘንተ፡ ተናግሮ፡ F | ^{10} ወሀበ፡ S | ^{11} ጽላተ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ C | ^{12} ክልኤሆን፡ F | ^{13} om. T | ^{14} ለፈኒ፡ γ | ^{15} 'ለፈ፡ ፅ; om. F. 12^{1} ወጽሕፈቶን፡ ፅ | ^{2} በአጻብአ፡ C | ^{3} እግዚእ፡ ' εFξ | ^{4} ቁጸሊሁ፡ ፅ; ቁሰሊሁ፡ AFKξ | ^{5} እስመ A | ^{6} ለሙሴ፡ ገብሩ፡ ወኀቢዩ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ add. C and correcting it. It may be a *homoioteleuton* from [§10] | ^{7} 'አ C | ^{8} ዘምስሌከ፡ add. C | ^{9} ዘምሉዕ፡ A; ዘምስሌከ፡ ወምስለ፡ C; ምስለ፡ F | ^{10} ሰብአ' F. 13^{1} om. S | ^{2} om. C; ወ'S | ^{3} ዘይቤሎ፡ C | ^{4} ሙሴ፡ add. P; ለሙሴ፡ add. Q; ዘንተ፡ ለሙሴ፡ S | ^{5} ከመ፡ የኃድር፡ add. C; እግዚእነ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ሰብአ፡ add. P | ^{6} ለእግዝእትነ፡ add. C | ^{7} ማርያም፡ C; ለጽዮን፡ εS | ^{8} ከመ፡ C | ^{9} ኵሎሙ add. C | ^{10} 'ዊያን፡ T.

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(14) ₁ወእንዘ፡ ሀሎ፡ ሙሴ፡ ቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔ[K2rb]ር፡ ወተመጠወ[1]፡ በእደዊሁ[2]፡ ዘንተ፡ ጽላተ፡ ዘተጠብ[C4r]ጠ[F2va]በ፡ ፦በቀለመ፡ እሳት[3]፡ ፦በአጻብእ፡ መለኮት[4]። (15) ₁ወጽሕፈቱሂ[1]፡ ከመዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ በነገረ፡ ዕብራይስ[T26va]ጢ[2]፡ ወበፊደላት[3]፡ ሄኖክ፡ ዘተምህረ። ₂ወኖኅያቲሁ[4]፡ ወነገራቲሁ[5]፡ ፦ከመዝ፡ ውእቱ[6]። ₃፲[7]፡ ቃላት፡ ዘአሐቲ፡ ኅ[A2rb]ርመቱ[8]፡ ወአኃቲ፡ ቅርጸቱ[9]። ₄ዘይቀልሎ፡ ኅልፈተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወ[D42va]ምድር።

(16) ₁ወይቤሎ[1]፡ ፦ካዕበ፡ እግዚአብሔር[2]፡ ለሙሴ፡ ወመላእክቦሙ፡ ጥበበ፡ ለባስልኤል፡ ዘው‡...‡[3]፡ ወልደ፡ ዖር፡ ዘእምይሁዳ[4]፡ ወለኤልያብ[5]፡ ዘአክስምካ[6]፡ ዘእምሕዝበ[7]፡ ዳን። (17) ₁ወወሀብክዎሙ፡ ፦መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጥ[F2vb]በበ፡ ወአ[K2va]እምሮ[1]፡ እቁመ[2]፡ [B3r] ከ[S137vb]መ፡ ይግ[C4v]በሩ፡ ኵሎ[3]፡ ግብራ፡ ለደብተራ፡ መርጡል[4]፡ ₐወታቦት[5]፡ ዘህር[Q1vb]መቱ[6]፡ ₆ወተቅዋመ፡ ማኅቶት፡ ወምሕዋጽ[7]፡ ዘላዕሌሃ፡ ₆ይነብር[8]፡ [A2rc] ው[T26vb]ስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ ₐመርጡል[9]። [P3] (18) ₁ወተአዚዞ፡ ሙሴ፡ ወነሢአ[1]፡ ውእተ፡ ጽላተ፡ ወወረደ[2]፡ እምደብረ፡ ሲና። ₂ወገብአ፡ ኀበ፡ ሕዝብ[3]፤ ወነገሮሙ፡ ፦ትእዛዘ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር[4]። ₃ወለእሉሂ[5]፡ [D42vb] ፦፪፡ ጠቢባን[6]፡ አዘዞሙ፡ ይግበሩ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ ደብተራ። ₄ወገብርዋ፡ በዘኢ.ተሀለየ[7]፡ በልበ፡ እጓለ፡ እመሕያው።

(19) ₁‡...‡ ፲[1]፡ አዕጻዳት[2]፡ ወለለ፭[3]፡ ጸድፍ[4]፡ ኑኑ፡ ፳ወ፰[5]፡ በእመት። ₂ፘወገ[C5r]ብሩ፡ መንጦላዕተ[6]፡ ወራኅቡኂ[7]፡ ፬[8]፡ በእመት። ₃ወገብሩ[9]፡ መንጦላዕ[K2vb]ተ፡ ደብተ[F3ra]ራ[10]፡ ደርከኖ[11]፡ ወዘሕብረ፡ ከ[A2va]ብድ[12]፡ ፦ወሥዕለ፡ ኪሩብ፡ ውስቴቱ[13]፡ ‡...‡[14] ፬[15]፡ አዕማድ[16]።

(20) ₁ወገብሩ[1]፡ ምስሃለ፡ መልዕልቴሃ፡ ኀበ፡ ትነብር፡ ₐታቦ[T27ra]ት[2]፡ ቅድሳቱ[3]፡ ₐለእግዚአብሔር[4]።[B3v] ₂ወ፪፡ ኪሩብ፡ ፦ውስተ፡ ፭[5]፡ ኪሩብ[6]፡ ውስተ፡ ጽንፈ[7]፡ ምስሐል። ₃ወ፭[8]፡ ውስተ[9]፡ ጽንፍ[10]። ₄ወይጼልሉ፡ በክነፊሆሙ። ₅ወሰብኡ[11]፡ ማኅተዊሃ[12]፡ ዘወርቅ።

14[1] ተመጠወ፡ CS | [2] እም፡ እደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ C | [3] om. C | [4] በአጻብዒሁ፡ ለመለኮት፡ A; በአጻብኢሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ϑ. 15[1] ወጽፈቱሂ፡ (sic) D | [2] ዕብራይስጥ፡ DS | [3] ወበፊደላት፡ F | [4] ወበኖኅያቲሁ፡ C; ኖኅያቲሁ፡ P | [5] ወነገሩኒ፡ C | [6] ዝውእቱ፡ S | [7] ፲ቱ፡ ϑ | [8] ኅርመታ፡ S; ክረምታ፡ T | [9] ቅርጸታ፡ S. 16[1] ወይቤ F | [2] እግ' ካዕበ፡ C | [3] ዘውሬ፡ Aεξ; ዘውፌ፡ ϑ; ዘውዕ፡ C; ዘውራ፡ F; ዛውሬ፡ S | [4] om. C | [5] ወለኤልያስ፡ F | [6] ዘአስምካ፡ ϑ; ዘአክሲምክ፡ C | [7] እምሕዝብ፡ C. 17[1] መንፈስ፡ ቅዱሳዌ፡' B; ጥበበ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ' C; በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡' FS; መንፈስ፡ ቅዱሳዌ፡' P; መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ' T | [2] እቁም፡ ε | [3] om. S | [4] መርጡር፡(sic) S | [5] ወታቦት፡ ABφε; ወታቦታት፡P | [6] ዘህርመት፡ϑC; በህርመቱ፡ S | [7] ወምዕዋድ፡ ϑ; ወምዕዋደ፡ S | [8] b-b 'ወምዕዋድ፡ ዘላዕሌሃ፡ ይገብር፡ ϑ; ወምሕዋጽ፡ ዘላዕሌሃ፡ ወተቅዋመ፡ ማኅቶት፡ ይነብር፡ C | [9] a-a om. F. It is an *homoioteleuton* from መርጡል፡ to መርጡል። 18[1] om. C | [2] ወረደ፡ ϑφε; ዘወረደ፡ S | [3] ሕዝቡ፡ S | [4] ትእዛዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ϑ; ትእዛዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ D | [5] ወለእሉ፡ CS | [6] ፪ቱ፡ ጠቢባን፡ ϑ; ጠቢባን፡ ፪፡ S | [7] ዘኢ.ተሀለየ፡ ϑ. 19[1] ፲፡ቱ፡ ϑ; በ፲፡ C | [2] -ፃ- s.l. D; አዕጻዳተ፡ S | [3] ወለለ፭ዱ፡ ϑ; ወለእለ፡ ፭፡ D | [4] አዕፃድ፡ C; om. D | [5] ፭ወ፰ተ፡ B; ፭ወ፰ቱ፡ P | [6] om. C; ' ደብተራ፡ add. F; ' መንጦእተ፡ (sic) S | [7] ወርኅቡኂ፡ ϑξ | [8] ፬ቱ፡ ϑ; ርብዓ፡ D | [9] ወገብረ፡ ϑ | [10] om. C | [11] ዘደርከኖ፡ C | [12] ከብዩ፡ (sic) A; ከብደ፡ D; መረግድ፡ S | [13] ወሥእሉ፡ ውስቴቱ፡ ኪሩብ፡ C; ወሥዕሉ፡ ' D; ወሥዕሉ፡ ኪሩብ፡ ውእቱ፡ F; 'ውስቲቱ፡ (sic) P; ወሥዕሉ፡ ኪሩብ፡ ውስቲቱ፡ (sic) T | [14] ውስተ፡ C | [15] ፬ቱ፡ ϑ | [16] አዕማደ፡ DT. 20[1] ወገብሩ፡ add. D | [2] om. B; ታቦት፡ D | [3] ቅድስቱ፡ D | [4] a-a ታቦት፡ ትነብር፡ ቅድስቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ S | [5] ፭፡ CS; ውስተ፡ ፭ዱ፡ ϑ | [6] om. C | [7] om. D; ፭፡ K | [8] ፭ዱ፡ ϑ; ወ፬። Q | [9] om. Q | [10] ጽንፉ፡ P | [11] ሰብኡ፡ F | [12] ማኅተሚሃ፡ FSβεξ.

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(21) ₁ወኵሎ[1]፡ ዘተገብ[D43ra]ረ[2]፡ ለግብረ[3]፡ ቅድሳት[4]፡ ⸢ወር[Q1vc]ቀ፡ ንጹሐ[5]፡ ዘያበውኡ[6]፡ ወኮነ[7]፡ ጐላቄሁ፡ ፳ወ፱[8]፡ መካልይ[9]፡ ወ፲፱ወ፱[10]፡ ሰቅል፡ በሰቅለ፡ [S138ra] ቅዱሳን[11]። ₂ወብሩርኒ፡ ፱[12]፡ መካ[C5v]ልይ[13]፡ ⸢ወ፲ወ፯[A2vb]፱ወ፳ወ፯[14]፡ ሰቅል፡ ገብ[F3rb]ርዎ[15]፡ አርእስተ[16]፡ አዕማድ፡ ወለበጥዋ[17]፡ ወ[K3ra]አሰርገውዋ።

(22) ₁ውተፈጸመ፡ ግብረ[1]፡ ደብተራ፡ መርጡል[2]። ₂ወግብረታሰ[3]፡ ⸢ከመ፡ እንግር[4]፡ በበአሐቲ፡ ስእንኩ፡ ፈክሮታ[5]፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ወኢይ[T27rb]ትከሐል[6]፡ ይትናገርዎ[7]፡ በበገጹ።

(23) ₁⸢ወእምዝ፡ ተናገሮ፡ እግዚአብሔር[1]፡ ለሙሴ፡ ወይቤሎ[2]፡ አመ፡ ርእሰ፡ ሠርቅ፡ ⸢ዘቀዳሚ፡ ት[B4r]ክላ[3]፡ ለደብተራ፡ መርጡል። ₂ወአንብራ[4]፡ ለታቦትየ፡ እንተ፡ ውስጣ[5]፡ ምስ[D43rb]ሐል፡ ጎበ፡ [A2vc] ⸢ይጼልኑ፡ ኪሩቤል[6]። [P4] (24) ₁ወለመጽሐፈ[1]፡ ትእዛዝ[2]፡ እንተ[3]፡ ይእቲ[4]፡ ጽላት፡ ዘሕግ፡ አንብ[C6r]ራ፡ ውስተ፡ ከር[F3va]ሣ፡ ለታቦት። ₂ወበህየ፡ እትኤመር[5]፡ ለከ[6]፡ በስብሐትየ[7]። ₃ወገብራ[8]፡ ከማሁ፡ ወአንበራ[9]፡ [K3rb] ለታቦት፡ ውሣጤ፡ ደብተራ። ₄ወጽላትኒ[10]፡ ውስተ፡ ከርሣ፡ ለታቦት[11]።

(25) ₁ወሰወራ፡ በ[Q2ra]መንሶላዕት፡ ዘጎብረ[1]፡ ከብድ፡ በከመ[2]፡ አዘዘ[3]፡ እግዚአብሔር። ወተመልአ[T27va]ት፡ ደብተራ፡ ስ[S138rb]ብሐተ፡ እግዚአብሔር። ₂ወዓምደ[4]፡ ደመና[5]፡ መልእልቱሃ[6]፡ ኮሎ[7]፡ መዓልተ። ₃⸢ወብር[A3ra]ሃነ፡ እሳት፡ ሌሊተ[8]፡ ቅድመ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ እስራኤል[9]። (26) ₁ወታቦትሰ[1]፡ ንጽሕት፡ ይእቲ፡ ⸢እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም[2]፡ ⸢ዘይትማሰላ፡ አልቦ[3]፡ ኢሰ[C6v][F3vb]ማያውያን[4]፡ ወኢምድራ[D43va]ውያን[5]። ₂ወጽላትኒ፡ ቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘንደረ፡ ው[B4v]ስተ፡ ከርሣ፡ ወተሰብአ፡ እምኔሃ[6]። ₃ወነበረት[7]፡ ከመዝ[8]፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ጽዮን[9]፡ [K3va] ሰማያዊት፡ ⸢በስብሐት፡ ብዙኅ[10]፡ ዘኢይትነገር፡ እስከ[11]፡ አዕረፈ፡ ሙሴ።

(27) ₁ወእምዝ፡ ⸢ሶበ፡ ወጽኡ፡ እስራኤል[1]፡ አመ፡ አገ[A3rb]ትዋ[2]፡ ለኢያሪኮ፡ ወቦኡ፡ [T27vb] ካህናት፡ ውስተ፡ ዮርዳኖስ፡ እንዘ፡ ይጸውርዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወቆሙ፡

21[1] om. B; ወኵሎ፡ CPS | [2] ዘገብረ፡ C | [3] በግብረ፡ δ | [4] ቅድሳን፡ S | [5] ወርቅ፡ ንጹሕ፡ δ; ዓሥራተ add. C; ወርቅ፡ ንጹሐ፡ F | [6] ዘይበውኡ፡ A | [7] መካነ፡ D | [8] ፳ወ፱ቱ፡ δ | [9] መካልየ፡ C; መካል፡ (sic) D | [10] ፱ወ፲፡ S | [11] ወአሐዱ፡ መካልይ፡ መጠኑ፡ ፲ቱ፡ ወ፲ቱ፡ ፲ት፡ ፳ወ፫፡ ውእቱ። add. P | [12] ፲ት፡ δ; ፫፡ S | [13] መካልየ፡ C | [14] ወ፲ቱ፡ ወ፲ቱ፡ ፲ት፡ ወ፳ወ፯ቱ፡ δ; ፲ወ፲፲፳ወ፯፡ F | [15] ገብርዋ፡ S | [16] ለአርእስተ፡ C | [17] ወለበጥዎ፡ λDS. 22[1] ግብረተ፡ C | [2] om. C | [3] ወግብራትሰ፡ (sic) C | [4] እነግር፡ C | [5] ፈክሮቶ፡ C; ተናግሮ፡ ወፈክሮታ፡ S | [6] ኢይትከሐል፡ S | [7] ይንግርዎ፡ γ. 23[1] Ill. S | [2] om. δ | [3] ’ትካላ፡ A; ወርጎ፡ ትክል፡ C; ’ተከላ፡ ε; ’ትከለ፡ F | [4] ወአንበራ፡ C | [5] ውስተ፡ λ; ውስጠ፡ δQ | [6] ይጼልል፡ ’A; ’ ኪሩብ፡ CKξ; ይጼልሎ፡’ D; ይጼልል፡ ኪሩብ፡ F. 24[1] መጽሐፈ፡ A; ወመጽሐፈ፡ δ | [2] ትእዘዝ፡ (sic) P | [3] om. D | [4] om. β | [5] እትአመር፡ A; እትአመን፡ δ; እንትኤመር፡ (sic) D | [6] om. β | [7] ለስብሐትየ፡ β | [8] ወገብረ፡ C; ወግበራ፡ φ | [9] ወአንብራ፡ φ | [10] ወጽላተኒ፡ εQ| [11] ወአም፡ (sic) በህየ፡ እትኤመር፡ ለከ፡ በስብሐትየ፡ ወግበራ፡ ከማሁ፡ ወአንብራ፡ ለታቦት፡ ውሣጤ፡ ደብተራ፡ ወጽላተኒ፡ ውስተ፡ ከርሣ፡ ለታቦት። rep. S. 25[1] ዘጎብረ፡ CK | [2] ዘከመ፡ δ; ወከመ፡ D | [3] አዘዘ፡ F | [4] ወዓውደ፡ S | [5] መና፡ S | [6] መልእልቱሁ፡ C; መልእልቲሃ፡ (sic) K | [7] ኵሎ፡ add. C | [8] ወበርሃ፡’ βK; ’ እሳተ፡’ C; ብርሃነ፡ እሳት F; ’ መሌሊተ፡ (sic) S | [9] ፳ኤል፡ S. 26[1] ወታቦት፡ AB; ወታቦት፡ ዘተብህለት፡ P | [2] ጽዮን፡ C; ማርያም፡ om. S | [3] አልቦ፡ ዘይትማሰላ፡ C | [4] ’ዊያን፡ K | [5] ወምድራውያን፡ δ; ’ዊያን፡ K | [6] om. A | [7] ወነበረ፡ C | [8] om. C | [9] ill. T | [10] በብዙኅ፡ ስብሐት፡ C | [11] አመ፡ add. C. 27[1] አመ፡ ቆመ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ውስተ፡ እስራኤል፡ C; ’ ፳ኤል፡ S | [2] አገትዎ፡ Aεξ; አደውዋ፡ δ.

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ማእከለ፡ ባሕር። (28) ₁ወማይኒ፡ ቆመ፡ ወኢክህለ፡ ወ[F4ra]ሪ[C7r]ደ[1]፡ እስከ፡ የዓድዉ[2]፡ ⸢ኵሎሙ፡ እስራ[Q2rb]ኤል[3]። ₂⸢ወማይኒ፡ ምሉእ፡ እስከ[4]፡ ድንጋጊሁ[5]። ₃ወካህናት[6]፡ እንዘ[7]፡ ይጸውርዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ቆሙ[8]፡ ₐ⸢ከመ[9]፡ ዘየብስ[10]፡ ርሱያነ[11]። [D43vb] (29) ₁ወእምዝ፡ ₐነሥኡ⸣ [1]፡ ፲ወ፪[2]፡ አዕባነ[3]፡ እም[4]፡ ኀበ፡ ቆመ[5]፡ አእጋሪሆሙ[6]፡ ለካህናት[7]፡ በጕልቈ፡ ፲ወ፪[8]፡ ነገደ፡ እስራኤል። ₂ወእምድኅረ፡ ዓደዉ፡ ኵሉ[9]፡ ሕዝብ፡ [A3rc] ወጽኡ[10]፡ ካህናት፡ [K3vb] እለ፡ ይጸውርዋ፡ ለጽዮን። ₃ወዮ[S138va]ርዳኖስኒ[11]፡ ባሕር[12]፡ ኮነ[13]፡ ከመ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ⸢ወምሉእ፡ ውእቱ፡ እስከ፡ ድንጋጌሁ⸣[14]። [B5r]

(30) ₁ወዘንተ፡ [T28ra] ዘገብረት[1]፡ ጽዮን፡ ሰማያዊት፡ [P5] አመ፡ ፲[2]፡ ለወርሃ፡ ዕብራል[C7v][F4rb]ዮስ[3]፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ₐቀዳቅያ[4]፡ ₐወርኀ[5]። ₂ወገብሩ[6]፡ ስብሐተ፡ ዓቢየ፡ ኵሎሙ[7]፡ ደቂቀ፡ እስራኤል፡ ወአእኰትዋ፡ ለእግዝእትነ[8]፡ ₆እስከ፡ በጽ[D44ra]ሑ[9]፡ ₆ኢያሪኮ[10]።

(31) ₁ወያደታ[1]፡ ⸢ለጥቅመ፡ ኢያሪኮ[2]፡ ታቦት[3]፡ ሕጉ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር[4]፡ ምስለ፡ ⸢ካህናት፡ ወኵሎ[A3va]ሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ እስራኤል⸣ [5]፡ በዓቢይ፡ ውውአ። ₂ወወድቀ፡ አረፋቲሃ፡ በጊዜሃ። ₃ወአውአይዋ፡ ለሀገር፡ በእ[Q2rc]ሳት[6]፡ ወአልቦ፡ ዘአትረፉ[7]፡ ውስቴታ[8]፡ [K4ra] ዘእንበለ፡ ንዋየ፡ ወርቅ[9]፡ ዘይከውን፡ ⸢ለቤተ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር[10]። ₄ገብረት፡ ኃይላተ[11]፡ ዓቢያተ[12]፡ እስከ፡ [C8r] አሕለቀ[T28rb]ቶሙ[13]፡ [F4va] ለሰብአ፡ ኢያሪኮ፡ ወለእንስሳሆሙ።

(32) ₁ወበሰብአ[1]፡ ኃይሂ[2]፡ ገብረት[3]፡ ኃይለ[4]፡ ብዙኃ[5]፡ ንግሥትነ[6]፡ ጽዮን[7]፡ ወእምነ[8]። ₂ወአቅተለት፡ [D44rb] ኵሎ፡ ሰብአ፡ ⸢ወ[A3vb]አንስተ፡ ወእደወ[9]፡ ዘይከውኑ[10]፡ ፸ወ[B5v]፭፻[11]፡ እሉ[12]፡ ኵሎሙ[13]፡ ሰብአ፡ ኃይ። (33) ₁ወአውአየት፡ ሀገረኒ[1]፡ በእሳት። ₂⸢ወኮኑ፡ ሐመደ[2]። ₃ወረሰየቶሙ[3]፡ ከመ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ዘይነብር፡ ውስቴቶሙ[4]፡ እስከ፡ ዮም፡

28[1] ወረዶ፡ δ | [2] ዓደዉ፡ δ | [3] ኵሎሙ፡ ደቂቀ፡ እስራኤል፡ δ; ኵሎሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ እስራኤል፡ C; እስራኤል፡ ኵሎሙ፡ F; ኵሎሙ፡ ፭ኤል፡ S | [4] om. δ; ወማዩኒ፡⸣ εξ | [5] ድንጋጌሁ፡ δ | [6] ወካህናትሰ፡ C; ካህናት፡ Q; om. S | [7] እለ፡ C; ወ' S | [8] ወቆሙ፡ F | [9] om. S | [10] ዘየብስ፡ A; የብስ፡ δ; በየብስ፡ ε; የብሰ፡ S | [11] ርሱያን εφ. 29[1] [a-a] ከመ፡ [28] ... ነሥኡ፡ [29] om. F | [2] ፲ተ፡ ወ፪ተ፡ δ | [3] አዕባን፡ C | [4] om. C | [5] om. D; ቆሙ፡ S | [6] እገሪሆሙ፡ δD | [7] ካህናት፡ F | [8] ፲ተ፡ ወ፪ተ፡ δ | [9] ኵሎሙ፡ C | [10] ወመጽኡ፡ F | [11] ወዮርዳኖስኒ፡ P | [12] ሀገር፡ A; ሀገረ፡T; ሑረ፡ Sλε; om. Q | [13] om. βελST | [14] ኮነ፡ ምሉአ፡' δ. 30[1] ገብረት፡ S | [2] ፲ሩ፡ δ | [3] ሰብራልዮስ፡ δ; አብርልዮስ፡ C; አብራልዮስ፡ F | [4] originally in the text (but later corrected) and in the Amharic translation ቀዳቅያ፡ later correction and s.l. ቀዳማይ፡ B; ቀዳመይ፡ (sic) in the text and ቀዳማይ፡ in the translation P. ቀዳማዊ፡ C | [5] [a-a] ወርኃ፡ ቀዳቅያ፡ F | [6] ገብሩ፡ P | [7] ኵሉ፡ A; ወኵሎሙ፡ C | [8] ማርያም፡ add. B; ጽዮን፡ add. C; ለጽዮን፡ እግዝእትነ፡ add. D; ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ add. P | [9] በጽሐት፡ C | [10] [b-b] እስከ፡ በጽሑ፡ A; om. δ. 31[1] ታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ add. Aεξ | [2] om. δFS; ለኢያሪኮ፡ C | [3] om. S | [4] ለጥቅመ፡ ኢያሪኮ፡ add. A | [5] ወኵሎሙ፡ ካህናት፡ ወኵሎሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ እስራኤል፡ δ; እስራኤል፡ ወካህናት፡C; ኵሎሙ፡ ካህናት፡ ወሕዝበ፡ እስራኤል፡ S | [6] ወ 'Q | [7] ዘአትረፉ፡ BD; ዘአትረፈ፡ S | [8] ውስቴቱ፡ A | [9]ወ' αβ | [10] 'ክርስቲያን፡ S | [11] ኃይለ፡ C | [12] om C | [13] አስሐቀቶሙ፡ A. 32[1] ወሰብአ፡ AFKT; በሰብአ፡ D; ወለሰብአ፡S | [2] ጋዛሂ፡ δ; ill. K | [3] ገብረ፡ S | [4] ዐቢየ፡ add. C; om. S | [5] om. δF | [6] እግዝእትነ፡ δ; ንግሥነ፡(sic) D | [7] ማርያም፡ AB; ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ P | [8] ወአእምነት፡ A; ወአእመነት፡ δ; እምነ፡ λS | [9] እደወ፡ ወአንስተ፡ CS; አንስተ፡ ወእደወ፡ F| [10] ዘይከውን፡ ABεφ | [11] ዕልፈ፡ ወ፭፻ተ፡ δ; ፸ወ፭፻ተ፡ Q | [12] ወእሉ፡ B; om. P | [13] ወለኵሎሙ፡ P. 33[1] ሀገርኒ፡ CKT; ሀገረ፡ S | [2] ወኮነት፡' B; ወኮነ፡ ሕሙደ፡ C; ወገብረት፡' P | [3] ወረሰየቶ፡ C | [4] ውስቴቱ፡ C

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ወእስከ፡ ዛቲ፡ ሰዓት[5]። ₄ወለንጉሥ፡ ጋይኒ[6]፡ አዘዘት[7]፡ ይስቅልዎ፡ ውስተ[8]፡ ዕፀ፡ ዘግባ፡ እስመ፡ ኃይለ፡ እግዚ[K4rb]አብሔር፡ የሐውር፡ ምስሌ[S138vb]ሃ። ₅ወመላእክት፡ [C8v] ይጸ[F4vb]ይሑ[9]፡ ፍናዊሃ። (34) ₁ᐟወከመዝ፡ ነበረት[1]፡ ብዙኃ፡ ዓመታተ[2]፡ [T28va] ᐟእንዘ፡ ታጠፍኦሙ[3]፡ [A3vc] ለነገሥታት[4]፡ ብዙኃ[D44va]ን፡ ወእኩያን[5]። [Q2va] ₂ወለሀገርኒ[6]፡ ኅበ፡ ኢተጸውዓ፡ ስመ[7]፡ ፈጣሪሃ፡ ትደመሰስ[8]።

(35) ₁ወይእዜኒ፡ አበውየ፡ ወአኃውየ፡ ዕግትዋ[1]፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወሕቀፍዋ፡ ለክብረ[2]፡ በዓላ፡ እንዘ፡ ተሐልዩ[3]። [P6] ₂ወይእቲሰ፡ ሥርጉት፡ ᐟበሥነ፡ ስብሐት[4]። ₃ትትሌዓል[5]፡ እምሰማያት፡ ወትከብር[6]፡ ᐟእምኵሎሙ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወትጉሃን[7]። ₄ወሀገሪቱ፡ ለአማኑኤል[8]፡ አምላክነ። ₅ጽዮን፡ እምነ[9]፡ ሙካፋ[10]፡ ለጠለ[11]፡ መለከ[F5ra]ት። [C9r] [A4ra] (36) ₁መርዓት፡ ሊባኖስ፡ ዘት[K4va]መስል[1]፡ አ[B6r]ትሮንሰ[2]፡ ዘአበ[3]፡ ሮብአም፡ አመ፡ ነግሠ[4]፡ ዘበቀርነ[5]፡ ግ[D44vb]ብርናት[6]፡ ዘተስእሉ[7]፡ [T28vb] ዲቤሃ፡ ፲ወ፪[8]፡ አኅብስት፡ ግሩማን[9]። (37) ₁ᐟአይ፡ ክብር[1]፡ ዘተውህበ፡ ላቲ። ᐟወአይ፡ ጸጋ[2]፡ እምኅበ፡ አቡሃ፡ ለብርሃን።

(38) ₁ታቦተ፡ ሕግኑ፡ ጽዮን፡ እግዝእትነ[1]፡ ዘተግረረት፡ እምቅድመ፡ ዓለማት[2]፡ በሕሊና፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፤ ወበሥምረተ[3]፡ ወልድ፡ ዋሕድ፤ ወሀብተ[4]፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጸራቅሊጦስ፤ ₂ᐟዕሩያነ፡ [A4rb] ንግሥ[5]፡ ከመ፡ ትኩኖ፡ ማ[S139ra]ኅደሮ[6]፡ ₐሎቱ፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ እስ[F5rb]መ፡ ኃረያ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለጽ[C9v]ዮን፡ ወአብደራ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩኖ፡ ₐማኅደሮ[7]። ₃bዝየ፡ [D45ra] አ[Q2vb]ኃድ[K4vb]ር፡ እስመ፡ ኃረይክዋ። ₄ወዛቲ፡ ይእቲ፡ ምዕራፍየ፡ [T29ra] ᵦለዓለም[8]።

(39) ₁በአማንኬ[1]፡ ኃረያ[2]፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወአፍቀራ[3]፡ ወሐነጸ[4]፡ መቅደሶ፡ በአርያም[5]፡ ወዘልፈ፡ ᐟይሔውጻ፡ ምስለ፡ መላእክቲሁ[6]። ₂ወኢይትአጸዉ፡ አናቅጺሃ[7]፡ መዓልተ፡ ወሌሊተ። [B6v] ₃ወእለ፡ ይሔልዉ[8]፡ ውስቴታ[9]፡ [A4rc] ኢይርኅቡ፡ ወኢይጸምኡ[10]፡ ወኢይቴክዙ[11]፡ ወኢይበክዩ[12]። ₄ወአልቦ፡ ኀዘን፡ ውስቴታ[13]፡ ዘእንበለ[14]፡ ፍስሐ፡ ወሐሴት[15]። ₅አልቦ[16]፡ ዋዕይ፡ ወቍር[17]። ₆ኢ.[C10r][F5va]መዓልት[18]፡ ወኢሌሊት[19]፡ ₐወኢወርኅ፡ ወኢከዋክብት[20]፡ ₐ ወኢፀሐይ[21]፡ ዘያበርህ[22]፡ ውስቴታ።

33[5] ዕለት፡ CQ | [6] ጋይሂ፡ λQS, ill. K | [7] አዘዘ፡ A | [8] ላዕለ፡ F | [9] የሐውሩ፡ ወይጸንሑ፡ C. 34[1] ወነበረት፡ ከመዝ፡ C | [2] ዓመተ፡ S | [3] እስከ፡ ያዕጥዖሙ፡ (sic) D | [4] ለነገሥት፡ PS | [5] እኩያን፡ CQ | [6] ወሀገርኒ፡ S | [7] ስማ፡ ወ' C; ከመ፡ ADFξ | [8] ትደመስስ፡ λAK; ትደመስሶሙ፡ δ; ተደምሰሰት፡ S. 35[1] ዕቅፍዋ፡ (sic) B | [2] አክበረ፡ C | [3] ትሔልዩ፡ A; ትሴብሑ፡ δ; ተሐልይ፡ D | [4] ይእቲ፡ በስብሐት፡ C; መዝ፡ ፵፯—፲፪ add. P | [5] ወ' F | [6] ወትትከበር፡ εTF | [7] 'ትጉሃን፡ መላእክት፡ C | [8] ለንጉሥ፡ add. C; om. F | [9] om. δ | [10] ሙቃፉ፡ A; ምሕቃፉ፡ δ | [11] ለንጥረ፡ B. 36[1] ዘተመስለት፡ C; ዘትካት፡ D; ዘተመስል፡ rep. F; ዘተመሰለ፡ S | [2] አትሮንሰ፡ rep. F | [3] አበ፡ C; ዘአባ፡ εξF| [4] ነግሥ፡ S | [5] ቀርነ፡ C; ለቀርነ፡ S | [6] ነጌ፡ C | [7] ዘተሰቅሉ፡ S ዘትስእሉ፡ T | [8] ዘተሰቅሉ፡ S ዘትስእሉ፡ T | [9] om. δ. 37[1] ኢይከብር፡ A; 'ግብር፡ D | [2] om. δ; ዘወረደ፡ add. ε. 38[1] ሰማያዊት፡ add. δ | [2] ዓለማተ፡ C | [3] በሥምረተ፡ C | [4] ወበሀብተ፡ Pξ | [5] 'መንግሥት፡ δ; 'ንጉሥ፡ CT| [6] ማኅደረ፡ S | [7] a-a om. Q | [8] b-b' ዛቲ፡' AD; ወይቤ፡ ' ዛቲ ' C; ዛቲ፡ ይእቲ፡ ምዕራፍየ፡ ለዓለም፡ ዝየ፡ አኃድር፡ እስመ፡ ኃረይክዋ፡ δ. 39[1] አማንኬ፡ D; በአማንኬ፡ (sic) S | [2] እግዚአብሔር፡ add. DS | [3] አብደራ፡' C | [4] ሐነጻ፡ C | [5] መዝ፡ ፵፯፭፤ ፲፫ add. P | [6] ይሔውጽዋ፡ መላእክት፡ C | [7] አናቅጽኪ፡ D | [8] ይላሕዉ፡ S | [9] ውስቴቱታ፡ (sic) C | [10] ወኢይጸምዉ፡ ኢይጸምዉ፡ (sic) C | [11] om. S | [12] ኢይ- s.l. B | [13] አልቦ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ኢሞት፡ C | [14] ወኢይትፈቀድ፡ ' δ | [15] ወሐዘን፡ D | [16] om. B; ወ' ውስቴታ፡ C; ወ'፡ FPS | [17] ኢቁር፡ C | [18] ኢመዓልተ፡ λT | [19] ወኢሌሊተ፡ λT | [20] om. δ | [21] a-a ኢፀሐይ፡ ወኢወርኅ፡ δ; ኢወርኅ፡ 'ተ፡ ' C; ' ኢፀሐየ፡ DQ; 'ኅ፡ 'ተ፡ 'የ፡ FT; ኢወርኅ፡ ' ኢፀሐይ፡ KS | [22] ዘየበርሀ፡ (sic) C.

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(40) ₁ወኢትፈቅድ¹፡ ውስቴታ²፡ ምን[D45rb]ተኒ³፡ [K5ra] ፦ ዘታሕተ፡ ሰማይ⁴፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ፦እሉ፡ ቅዱሳን⁵፡ እለ⁶፡ አንጽሑ፡ [P7] አጽ[T29rb]ፎሙ፡ በደመ፡ በግዑ፡ እለ፡ ተሣየጥዋ፡ በዓማ፡ ገድሎሙ። (41) ₁ወእሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ እለ፡ ይጸውሩ፡ ፀበ[A4va]ርተ። ₂ወይዜምሩ¹፡ በከመ፡ ሰብሐ²፡ ሙሴ፡ ፦ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር³፡ በማኅሌተ፡ በግዑ፡ ቀዊሞሙ⁴፡ በመርኅባ⁵፡ ወበከ[Q2vc]ሉ፡ ፍናዊሃ። ₃ወይብሉ⁶፡ ሃሌ፡ ሉያ፡ ዘአልዓ[F5vb]ላ⁷፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምኮሉ⁸፡ ዓለማት። ₄ሃሌ፡ ሉያ፡ ለዘኮነቶ⁹፡ ማኅደረ፡ ስ[C10v]ብሐቲሁ¹⁰።

(42) ₁ሃሌ፡ ሉያ፡ ለዘቀደሳ¹፡ ለሰንበት²፡ ወአንጽሓ³፡ ከመ፡ ይሳለምዋ⁴፡ ኮሎ[B7r]ሙ⁵፡ መላእክት⁶፡ ወሊቃነ፡ መላ[K5rb]እክት፡ አጋእዝት፡ ፦ወ[S139rb]ሥልጣናት፡ [D45va] ኃይላት⁷፡ ወመናብርት፡ ወመኳንንት፡ ኪሩ[A4vb]ቤል፡ ወሱራፌል። ₂ወይ[T29va]ሰግዱ⁸፡ መድረከ⁹፡ ኃዋኅዊሃ፡ ግጽው¹⁰። ₃ወውእቱኒ¹¹፡ ይሔውጻ¹²፡ ፦ምስለ፡ ኃይላቱ¹³፡ እንተ¹⁴፡ ዘልፈ¹⁵፡ ወያበርህ¹⁶፡ ላቲ፡ ፦ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም¹⁷፡ በብርሃነ፡ መለኮቱ¹⁸፡ ዘኢየዓርብ። (43) ₁ቦ¹፡ ዘትት[F6ra]ሜሰል²፡ ፦በጎበ፡ ገነተ፡ አቅማሕ³፡ ወፍሬሃ⁴፡ ብዙህ፡ ወምዑዝ፡ እምኮሉ፡ አፈዋት። ₂ወቦ⁵፡ ዘት[C11r]ትሜሰል፡ ፦ሀገረ፡ ትፍስሕት⁶። ₃ₐወቦ፡ በጎበ⁷፡ ዘትትሜሰል፡ ታዕካ፡ ₐንጉሥ⁸። ₄ወቦ⁹፡ ዘትትሜሰል፡ ታቦተ፡ ወጽላተ¹⁰፡ ዘምስለ¹¹፡ ፲¹²፡ [A4vc] ቃላት፡ ዘሀለዉ¹³፡ በከርሣ። (44) ₁ወይእቲሰ¹፡ ዘይፈትዉ²፡ ይርአይዋ³፡ ቅዱሳን⁴፡ ብ[Q3ra]ፁዓን⁵፡ [K5va] ኮሎሙ⁶፡ [D45vb] እለ፡ ይቀውሙ፡ ውስቴታ⁷፡ ወይሔልዩ⁸፡ በስብሐታ⁹። ₂ብፁዕ¹⁰፡ ብእሲ፡ [T29vb] ዘኮነቶ፡ እመ¹¹፡ ፦አመ፡ ነገደ¹²፡ ወተወክፈቶ¹³፡ ከመ፡ የአምኅ¹⁴፡ ዴዴሃ፡ [B7v] በከመ¹⁵፡ ፦ይቤ፡ ነቢይ¹⁶፡ [C11v] ብፁዓን፡ ኮ[F6rb]ሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ይነብሩ¹⁷፡ ፦ዲበ፡ ምድር¹⁸፡ ለዓለመ¹⁹፡ ዓለም፡²⁰ ይሴብሑከ።²¹ ₃በአማን፡ ይሴብሕዎ²²፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ከዋክብቲሃ²³፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምነ²⁴፡ ‡...‡²⁵። [A5ra]

40¹ ወኢይትፈቅድ፡ ð; ወትፈቅድ፡ D; om. S | ² om. BSλ | ³ om. β; ዘሀሎ፡ add. C; ወኢምንትኒ፡ S | ⁴ ወኢምንተኒ፡ add. AC; ወምድር፡ ወኢምንትኒ፡ add. ð; መትሕተ፡ ’ C; ’ ሰማያት፡ D | ⁵ om. C | ⁶ ወ’ D. 41¹ om. ð | ² ስብሐተ፡ β | ³ om. C | ⁴ om. C | ⁵ በመርኅበ፡ Q; መርኅባ፡ S | ⁶ ወይቤሉ፡ ð | ⁷ ለዘአልዓላ፡ C; ዘዓልዓለ፡ F | ⁸ እምኮሎን፡ β | ⁹ ለዘኮነት፡ ðCS; ዘኮነቶ፡ F; ለዘ፡ ኮነቶ፡ T | ¹⁰ ለ’ C. 42¹ ለዘቀደሳተ፡ (sic) B; ለዘአንጽሐ፡ ወቀደሳ፡ C; ለዘ፡ ቀደሳ፡ (sic) T | ² om. ðC; ለጽዮን S | ³ om. C; ወአንጽሑ፡ Q | ⁴ ለጽዮን፡ add. ð; ይሳለምዋ፡ D | ⁵ om. F | ⁶ ወኃይላት፡ P | ⁷ ወኃይላት፡ ሥልጣናት፡ β | ⁸ ይሰግዱ፡ C | ⁹ ታሕተ፡ ’ C | ¹⁰ om. ð; ግጽው፡ ST | ¹¹ om. ð; ወውእቱ፡ C | ¹² ወሔጻ፡ B; እንዘ፡ ዘልፈ፡ ’ C; ወይሔውጽ፡ P | ¹³ ’ኃይላቲሃ፡ ð; om. C; ’ኃይላቱኒ፡ F; ዘልፈ፡ ’ኃይላት፡ ST | ¹⁴ om. F | ¹⁵ ይሔውጻ፡ C | ¹⁶ ያበርህ፡ C | ¹⁷ ለዓለም፡ ð | ¹⁸ ስብሐቲሁ፡ C. 43¹ om. ð | ² ጎበ፡ ዘይትሜሰል፡ C; በዘትትሜሰል፡ F | ³ በገነተ፡ ’ ð; ገነተ፡ አቅማኅ፡ C | ⁴ ወፍራሃ፡ (sic) A; ፍሬሃ፡ C | ⁵ ቦ፡ ð; ጎበ add. C | ⁶ ወተድላ፡ add. ð; መርዓተ፡ ሥርጉት፡ C | ⁷ ጎበ፡ C; om. P | ⁸ ₐ-ₐ om. Bε (*homoioarchton* from ወቦ፡ to ወቦ፡); ’ ዘንጉሥ፡ C | ⁹ ጎበ፡ add. C | ¹⁰ ጽላት፡ C | ¹¹ ዘምስል፡ C | ¹² ፲ቱ፡ ð | ¹³ ዘሀለወከ፡ A; ዘሀለወ፡ λεT. 44¹ ጽርሐ፡ ቅድሳቱ፡ ለአማኑኤል፡ አምላክነ፡ ላቲ፡ add. C; ወለይቲሰ፡ (sic) F | ² ዘይፈትዋ፡ C; ዘይፈትውዋ፡ εFQS | ³ ወይሬእይዋ፡ C; om. S | ⁴ ኮሎሙ፡ ’ C | ⁵ ኮሎሙ፡ ’ C | ⁶ ወ’ D | ⁷ om. S | ⁸ ወየሐልዩ፡ C; ወይጼልዩ፡ S | ⁹ በስብሐቲሁ፡ λ; በስብሐት፡ D; በስብሐታቱ፡ K; ለስብሐተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ S | ¹⁰ om. C | ¹¹ እሙ፡ C; እም፡ F | ¹² ወ’ ጎቢሃ፡ C; አመ፡ ለነገድ፡ S | ¹³ ወተወክፈ፡ Q | ¹⁴ ዘየአምኅ፡ A; ዘአምኅ፡ ð | ¹⁵ ከመ፡ S | ¹⁶ om. S | ¹⁷ ይነብሩ፡ S | ¹⁸ ውስተ፡ ቤትከ፡ ðC | ¹⁹ ወ’ ðC | ²⁰ ። A | ²¹ ፡ A | ²² ወ’ FQS | ²³ ኮሎሙ’ S | ²⁴ እም፡ P | ²⁵ ብርሃን ABS; om. C; ብሩሃን፡ εξF; ዘብርሃን፡ P.

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(45) ₁ንግባእኬ፡ ጎበ፡ ጎዳገ[1]፡ ነገር[2]፡ ዘጽኑሕ፡ ለነ[3]፡ በእንተ፡ ዜናሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ዘገብረት፡ ተአምረ፡ ወመንክረ[4]፡ አመ፡ ኮነ[5]፡ ፬፬[6]፡ ዓመተ[7]፡ እምአመ፡ ወጽኡ፡ ₐእምግብጽ፡ ደቂቀ፡ ₐእስራኤል[8]፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ትንቢቱ፡[P8] ለሳ[K5ᵛᵇ]ሙኤል፡[S139ᵛᵃ] አመ፡ ልህቀ፡ ኤሊ፡ ወደቂቁኒ[9]፡ ካህናት፡ እሙንቱ[10]፡ እኩያነ፡ ኮኑ። ₂ወ[D46ʳᵃ]ሖሩ፡ በ[T3oʳᵃ]ፍኖት[11]፡ እኪት፡ ቅ[C12ʳ]ድመ[12]፡ እግዚአብሔር። (46) ₁ወተምᵐ[F6ᵛᵃ]አሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለእስራኤል[1]፡ ወአውደቆሙ፡ ቅድመ፡ ኢሎፍሊ[2]። ₂ወሞቱ፡ በ[Q3ʳᵇ]ውስተ፡ ፀብእ፡ ፵፪፡ ብእሲ[3]፡ በገዳ[A5ʳᵇ]ም[4]። ₃ወዘተርፉ፡ እስራኤል[5]፡ ነትኡ፡ ወቦኡ[6]፡ ውስተ[7]፡ ሀገሮሙ[8]። ₄ወይቤሉ፡ በበይነ[9]፡ ምንት፡ ₆ው[B8ʳ]ስተ፡ እዬሆሙ፡ ለኢሎፍሊ[10]፡ አግብአነ፡ ₆እግዚአብሔር[11]። (47) ₁ወኢያእመሩ፡ ከመ፡ በእንተ፡ ኃጢአቱ፡ ለኤሊ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ምግባሮሙ[1]፡ እኪት፡ ፣ዘኃልቁ፡ ደቂቁ[2]። ₂ወእምዝ፡ ካዕበ[3]፡ ነሥዕዋ፡ ለታቦ[K6ʳᵃ]ተ፡ አምላክነ[4]፡ ም[C12ᵛ]ስሌሆሙ፡ ₙምስለ[5]፡ ₙኪሩብ[6]። ₃ወደቂቀ፡ ኤሊኒ[7]፡ ፪[8]፡ ካ[F6ᵛᵇ]ህናት፡ ፣አፍኒን፡ ወፊንሐስ[9]፡ ሖሩ[10]፡ ከመ፡[T3oʳᵇ] ይጽብእዎሙ፡ ለኢሎፍሊ[11]፡ [D46ʳᵇ][A5ʳᶜ]። ₄ወውዑ[12]፡ በትእይንት[13]፡ ሶበ[14]፡ በጽሐት፡ ጽዮን፡ ኀቤሆሙ[15]። (48) ₁ወሶበ፡ ሰምዑ፡ ኢሎፍሊ[1]፡ ፈርሑ፡ ወይቤሉ፡ አሌ፡ ለነ፡ ፣አሌ፡ ለነ[2]፡ እስመ፡ መጽኡ[3]፡ ኀቤነ፡ ምስለ[4]፡ አምላኮሙ፡ ዅሎሙ፡ ዕብራውያን፡ ከመ፡ ያጥፍዑነ። ₂አሌ፡ ለነ፡ ፣አሌ፡ ለነ[5]፡ መኑ፡ ያድኅነነ፡ እምእሉ፡ ፣እለ፡ አመንሰውዎ[6]፡ ለግብጽ[7]፡ በብዙኅ፡ መቅሠፍት[8]።

(49) ₁ወእደ[1]፡ እግዚአብሔርሰ[2]፡ ኮነ፡ ም[C13ʳ]ስለ፡ [Q3ʳᶜ] ኢሎፍሊ፡ ከመ፡ ይፃባዕ[3]፡ [S139ᵛᵇ] ሎሙ፡ ለዘበእንተ[4]፡ [F7ʳᵃ] ኃጢአቶሙ፡ ለኤሊ። [K6ʳᵇ] ₂ወለደቂቁ[5]፡ ካህናት፡ እለ[6]፡ አርኰስዋ፡ ለ[A5ᵛᵃ]መሥዋዕተ፡ አምላ[B8ᵛ]ክነ፡ ወበእንተ[7]፡ ዘአኅሰሙ፡ [D46ᵛᵃ] ላዕለ፡ ጽዮን። [T3oᵛᵃ] (50) ₁ወእምዝ፡ ገብሩ፡ ፀብዓ[1]፡ እስራኤል[2]፡ ምስለ፡ ኢሎፍሊ። ₂ወተቀትሉ[3]፡ ₐእስራኤል፡ በእደዊሆሙ፡ ₐለኢሎፍሊ[4]። ₃ወኮነ፡ ጕሁልቈሙ፡ ለእለ፡ ሞቱ፡ ₆በይእቲ፡ ዕለት፡ ፫፬፡ ₆ብእሲ[5]። ₄ወሞቱ፡ ፣አፍኒን፡ ወፊንሐስ[6]። ₅ወነሥእዋ፡ ለታቦት፡ ወፂወውዋ፡ ኢሎፍሊ።

45[1] ኃደግነ፡ F; ጎዳን፡ (sic) S | [2] om. S | [3] ለነነ፡ S | [4] ወመንረ፡ (sic) S | [5] om. C | [6] ፬ተ፡ ፫ተ፡ δ; om. S | [7] ዓመት፡ λS; ዓመታተ፡ K | [8]ₐ₋ₐ ’ ፭ኤል፡ AD; ደቂቀ፡ ፭ኤል፡ እምግብጽ፡ S | [9] ወደቂቁ፡ D | [10] om. C | [11] በፍኖተ፡ T | [12] በ’ C. 46[1] ለደቂቀ፡’ λ; ለ፭ኤል፡ S | [2] ኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡ A; ኢሎፍላውያን፡ C | [3] ብእሴ፡ B; ሰብእ፡ S | [4] ገዳም፡ ε; ዘገዳም F | [5] ፭ኤል፡ S | [6] ወገብኡ፡ C | [7] om. CS | [8] ብሔሮሙ፡ C | [9] በይነ፡ F | [10] ለኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡ A; ለኢሎፍላውያን፡ CS | [11] ₆₋₆ አግብአነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ውስተ፡ እዬሆሙ፡ ለኢሎፍላውያን፡ C. 47[1] ምግባሩ፡ δ | [2] ለደቂቁ፡ ዘኃልቁ፡ C; ለደቂቁ፡ ኃልቁ፡ ε; ኃልቁ፡’ S | [3] ካዕበ፡ add D; om. F | [4] አምላክ፡ C | [5] om. T | [6] ₍₋₎ ሥዕለ፡ ኪሩቤል፡ δ; ’ ኪሩባ፡(sic) C; ’ኪሩቤል፡ F | [7] ኤሊ፡ δ | [8] ፪ቱ፡ δ | [9] ዖፍኒ፡’ C; አፍኒ፡ ፊንሐስ፡ K; አፍኒ፡ ወፊንሐስ፡ Dξ | [10] ምስሌሆሙ፡ add. C | [11] ለኢሎ፡ ፍሊ፡ A; ለኢሎፍላውያን፡ C | [12] ወወውዑ፡ C | [13] ትእይንት፡ APSεξ; ትዕይንተ፡ B | [14] እስመ፡ S | [15] ፲(sic) add. T. 48[1] ኢሎፍላውያን፡ C | [2] om. βC; አነ፡ (sic) F | [3] መጽአ፡ C; om. D | [4] እስመ፡ D | [5] om. CD; አሊ፡(sic) ’ F | [6] ’አማሰንዋ፡ C; እስመ፡’ P; ’መንሰውዋ፡ S | [7] ግብጽ፡ B | [8] መቅሠፍተ፡ S. 49[1] ውእዩ፡ P | [2] እግዚአብሔር፡ FS | [3] ይፀባዕ፡ C; ይጸእ፡ F | [4] በእንተ፡ C | [5] ወለደቂቀ፡ D | [6] om. F | [7] በእንተ፡ C. 50[1] ላዕለ፡ add. F | [2] ፭ኤል፡ S | [3] ወቀተሉ፡ S | [4] ₐ₋ₐ በእደዊሆሙ፡ ለኢሎፍሊ፡ β; በእደዊሆሙ፡ እስራኤል፡ ለኢሎፍሊ፡ Fεξ; በእደዊሆሙ፡ ፭ኤል፡ ኢሎፍሊ፡ S | [5] ₆₋₆ ፫ቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ በይእቲ፡ ዕለት፡ AFεξ; ’ ፫ቱ፡ ፷፡’ δ; ፫ቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ በዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ C; ፫ቱ፡ በይእቲ፡ ዕለት፡ S | [6] አፍኒ፡ ወፊንሐስ፡ C.

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(51) $_{1}$ወሮጸ፡ [P9] ፲ፌ፡ ብእሲ፡ እምነ፡ ቀትል[1]። $_{2}$ወቦአ፡ ኀበ[2]፡ ኤሊ[3]፡ ወዜነዎ[4]፡ $_{c}$ከመ፡ ኃልቁ፡ እ[C13^{v}]ስራኤል፡ ወዘከመ፡ ሞቱ፡ [F7^{rb}] ውሉዱ፡ ወዘከመ፡ ነሥእዋ፡ $_{c}$ለጽዮን[5]። $_{3}$ወሰሚዖ፡ ኤ[A5^{vb}]ሊ፡ ካህን፡ ከመ[6]፡ ተጼወወት፡ ታቦ[K6^{va}]ት፡ ወዘከመ፡ ኮነ፡ ኵሎ[7]፡ ወድቀ፡ ድኅሪተ፡ እመንበሩ፡ [D46^{vb}] ወሞተ[8]። $_{4}$፲ወእደ፡ አምላክነ[9]፡ ተጽእነ፡ ላዕሌሁ።

(52) $_{1}$ወእምዝ፡ ነሥእዋ፡ ለታቦት፡ ኢሎፍሊ[1]። $_{2}$ወአብእ[T30^{vb}]ዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ[2]፡ ዳጎን፡ $_{d}$አምላኮሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ [Q3^{va}] አምላክነ፡ $_{d}$ዳጎን[3]፡ ፲ይኄይስ፡ እምኵሉ[4]።

(53) $_{1}$ስምዖ፡ እንከ[1]፡ እንግርክሙ[2]፡ ፅቡስ[3]፡ ኃይልየ፡ ፲ወላዕላዕ፡ ልሳንየ[4]፡ ፲ወት[B9^{r}]ሑት፡ ልብየ[5]፡ እምኵሉ[6]፡ አኃው[7]። $_{2}$ዘገብረት[8]፡ ፲ኃይለ፡ ብዙኃ[9]፡ ወተአምረ[10]፡ ወመድምመ፡ [F7^{va}] በእስራኤ[A5^{vc}]ል[11]፡ ወ[C14^{r}]ኢሎፍሊ[12]። (54) $_{1}$ወሶበ፡ አማሰኑ[1]፡ ካህናት[2]፡ ሕገ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አሕለቀቶሙ[3]፡ [S140^{ra}] ለእስራኤል[4]፡ በኩናት[5]። $_{2}$ወ[K6^{vb}]ካዕበ፡ ሶበ፡ አብዕዋ[6]፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ዳ[D47^{ra}]ጎን፡ $_{a}$ወጌሡ፡ ሰብአ፡ አዛጦን፡ ህየ[7]፡ ወረከብዎ[8]፡ $_{a}$ለዳጎን[9]፡ ውዱቀ[10]፡ በገጹ፡ ቅድመ፡ ታቦት። $_{3}$ወአንሥእዎ[11]፡ ፍጡነ፡ ወአቀምዎ[12]፡ ውስተ፡ መካኑ፡ በክብር[13]። (55) $_{1}$ወተምዕዓ[1]፡ ፲ላዕሌ[T31^{ra}]ሆሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር[2]፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን። $_{2}$ወቀሰፎሙ፡ ፲ዓቢየ፡ መቅሰፍተ[3]፡ ለሰብአ፡ አዛጦን፡ ወለደወሎሙ። $_{3}$ወእም[A6^{ra}]ዝ፡ ካዕበ[4]፡ [F7^{vb}] ሶበ፡ ጌሡ፡ በጽባሕ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ[5]፡ ዳጎን፡ ወረከብዎ[6]፡ ውዱቀ[7]፡ በገጹ[8]፡ [C14^{v}] ታሕተ፡ እግራ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ንግሥትነ። $_{4}$ወርእሱ፡ ምቱር፡ ወእደዊሁ[9]፡ ፪[10]፡ ወእራኃቲሁ[11]፡ ውዱ[Q3^{vb}]ቃት፡ ኀበ፡ መድረክ[12]። [K7^{ra}] $_{5}$ወአልቦ፡ ዘተርፈ፡ እምኔሁ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ማዕከሉ። [D47^{rb}] (56) $_{1}$ወእንበይነ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ተአምር[1]፡ [B9^{v}] ዕፀ-ብ[2]፡ ኮነ፡ ሁከት፡ ብዙኅ፡ ወገዓር፡ ወሰቆቃው፡ ፲ዲበ፡ ገነውቱ፡ ለዳጎን[3]። [P10] $_{2}$ወኢዓርጉ[4]፡ ከመ፡ ይሡዑ፡ ሎቱ፡ በከመ፡ ልማዶሙ። $_{3}$ወኮነ፡ አውያት[5]፡ [T31^{rb}] ወናእክ[6]። $_{4}$ወከብደት፡ [A6^{rb}] ፲እዴሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር[7]፡ ላዕለ፡ ሰብአ፡ አዛጦን። [F8^{ra}]

51[1] ’ዱ፡’ ፅ; እምኔሆሙ፡ C | [2] ኀቢሁ፡ εFS | [3] om. εFS | [4] ለኤሊ፡ add. D | [5] $_{c-c}$ ከመ፡ ሞቱ፡ ውሉዱ፡ ወዘከመ፡ ነሥእዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወኃልቁ፡ እስራኤል። ፅ; ከመ፡ ኃልቁ፡ እስራኤል፡ ወዘከመ፡ ነሥእዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እግዝእትነ። C; ከመ፡ ኃልቁ፡ ፳እስል፡ ወዘከመ፡ ሞቱ፡ ውሉዱ፡ ወነሥእዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ S | [6] ዘከመ፡ S | [7] om. Cβεξ; ኵሉ፡ S | [8] ኤሊ፡ add. D | [9] እደወ፡’ AD; እደ፡’ ፅ; እደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ C; እድወ፡’ KSξ. 52[1] om. β; ኢሎፍላውያን፡ C | [2] om. ፅ; አምላኮሙ፡ S | [3] $_{d-d}$ om. C | [4] ይኄይሳ፡ ለጽዮን፡ C; ይኄይሰነ፡’ S. 53[1] S.l. A; ካዕበ፡ C; om. F | [2] እነግረክሙ፡ ፅ | [3] ፅቡሰ፡ ABξ; እንዘ፡ ፅቡስ፡ አነ፡ C; ፅቡዕ፡ D | [4] ወላዕላዓ፡ ልሳን፡ C; ወላዕላይ፡’ F; ላዕላዕ፡ ’ P; ወልዕላዕ፡’ T | [5] om. C; ወስሑት፡ ’ S | [6] እምኵሎሙ፡ C | [7] አኃውየ፡ C | [8] ወገብረት፡ C | [9] om. C | [10] ተአምረ፡ C; ብዙኃ፡ add. Aξ; ወመንክረ፡ add. ε; ዓቢየ፡ add. F | [11] ላዕለ፡ እስራኤል፡ F; በ፲እል፡ S | [12] ወበኢሎፍሊ፡ Cβ. 54[1] ወአማሰኑ፡ C; ሰምዑ፡ አማሰኑ S | [2] om. C | [3] አሕለቆዎሙ፡ C; አሕለቆሙ፡ S | [4] ፲እል፡ S; om. T | [5] በኵይናት፡ D | [6] ኢሎፍሊ፡ add. C | [7] ወሀየ፡ D; om. S | [8] ረከብዎ፡ C | [9] $_{a-a}$ om. ፅ | [10] ወድቀ፡ ፅ; ውዱቅ፡ CD | [11] ወነሥእዎ፡ C; ወእንሥእዋ፡ T | [12] በክብር፡ add. F; ወአቀምዎ፡ T | [13] om. C. 55[1] ወተምዐ፡ ፅCD; ወተሰምዐ፡ S | [2] እግዚአብሔር፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ βS; እግዚአብሔር፡ C | [3] በመቅሰፍት፡ ዓቢይ፡ F | [4] ነሥአ፡ S | [5] om. C | [6] ወረከዎ፡ (sic) D; ረከብዎ፡ S | [7] ውዱቅ፡ C | [8] om. F | [9] ወእደዊሁኒ፡ C | [10] ፪ኤ፡ ፅ; ፪ቱ፡ ምቱራት፡ add. C | [11] ወእራኃቱኒ፡ C | [12] መድረከ፡ ኖኅት፡ add. C. 56[1] ትሙምር፡ ፅ | [2] ወዕፀብ፡ D | [3] በዲበ፡ ገነቱ፡’ C; ’ ወዳጎን፡ S | [4] ወኢዓረጉ፡ A; ወዓርጉ፡ S | [5] አላውያት፡ (sic) ብዙኅ፡ C | [6] ወነእክ፡ εT | [7] ለእግዚአብሔር፡ እዴሁ፡ F.

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(57) ₁ₐወአምጽአ፡ በውስተ፡ አሕ[C15ʳ]ማር፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሮሙ፡ ₐአናጹተ¹፡ ዘያማስኑ፡ ኵሎ። ₂ወኮነ፡ ዓቢይ²፡ መቅሠፍት³፡ ውስተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ሀገር። ₃⸢ወእንዘ፡ ይብሉ⁴፡ ከልሑ፡ ወአውየዉ፡ ወይቤሉ⁵፡ ኢትንበር፡ ኀቤነ⁶፡ ⸢ታቦቱ፡ ለአምላከ፡ እስራኤል⁷፡ እስመ፡ ⸢ጸንዓ፡ [K7ʳᵇ] እዴሃ⁸፡ ዲቤነ⁹፡ ወ[S140ʳᵇ]ዲበ፡ ዳጎን፡ አምላክነ። (58) ₁ወ[D47ᵛᵃ]እምዝ፡ ለአኩ፡ ወአስተጋብእዎሙ¹፡ ለመሣፍንተ²፡ ኢሎፍሊ፡ ኀቤሆሙ³። ₂ወይቤልዎሙ፡ [A6ʳᶜ] ምንት፡ ንሬስያ፡ ለጽዮን። ₃ወይቤልዎሙ፡ ጠቢባን⁴፡ ጌታውያን⁵፡ ትፍልስ፡ [T3ı ᵛᵃ] እምኀቤነ⁶፡ ታቦተ፡ እግዚአብሔር። ₄ወአፍለስዋ፡ [F8ʳᵇ] ለጽዮን⁷።

(59) ₁ወእምዝ¹፡ እም[Q3ᵛᶜ]ድኀረ²፡ አፍለስዋ፡ [C15ᵛ] ለጽዮን³፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገር፡ ₐኮነ⁴፡ ዓቢይ⁵፡ ሁከት⁶፡ ₐጥቀ⁷። ₂ወቀሰፎሙ⁸፡ ለሰብአ፡ ይእቲ⁹፡ ሀገር፡ ለዓቢይ¹⁰፡ ወለንዑስ፡ ለእድ፡ [B10ʳ] ወለአንስት። ₃ወገብሩ፡ ሎቱ¹¹፡ ሰብአ፡ ጌታውያን¹²፡ አርአያ¹³፡ ኀበ¹⁴፡ እለ¹⁵፡ ተቀሥፉ። ₄ወፈነውዋ፡ ለታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ እስራኤል¹⁶፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገረ፡ አስቀሎና። [K7ᵛᵃ]

(60) ₁ወእ[D47ᵛᵇ]ምዝ፡ ሶ[A6ᵛᵃ]በ፡ አብእዋ¹፡ ወይቤሉ²፡ በምንት፡ ግብር፡ ወበምንት፡ ነገር፡ ወለምንት³፡ አግባእክሙ⁴፡ [C16ʳ] ኀቤነ፡ ጽዮንሃ⁵፡ ታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ እስራኤል⁶፡ ከመ፡ ትቅትለነ⁷፡ ₐምስለ፡ ሕዝብነ፡ ወምስለ፡ [F8ᵛᵃ] አንስቲያነ⁸፡ ወው[T3ı ᵛᵇ]ድድነ፡ ወኮሉ፡ ₐእንስሳነ⁹። ₂ወእምዝ¹⁰፡ ለአኩ፡ ወአስተጋብእዎሙ፡ ለመሣፍንት¹¹፡ ኢሎፍሊ¹²፡ ወይቤልዎሙ¹³፡ ፈንውዋ¹⁴፡ ለጽዮን፡ ⸢ትንበር፡ ውስተ፡ መካና¹⁵።

(61) ₁ₐፈንውዋ¹፡ ₐለጽዮን²፡ ትንግሥ³፡ ዲበ⁴፡ ሕዝባ፡ ወኢትቅትለነ፡ በሞት፡ መሪር። ₂እስመ፡ ኮነ፡ [P11] ዓቢይ፡ መቅ[A6ᵛᵇ]ሠፍት፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገር፡ ጥቀ፡ [B10ᵛ] ሶበ፡ ቦአት፡ ጽዮን፡ [S140ᵛᵃ] ኀቤሆ[C16ᵛ]ሙ። ₃ሕያዋንሂ፡ ወ[Q4ʳᵃ]ምውታንሂ⁵፡ ተ[K7ᵛᵇ]ቀ[D48ʳᵃ]ሥፉ። ₄ᵇወኅርገ⁶፡ ጽርሐ⁷፡ ሀገር፡ እስከ፡ ᵦሰማይ⁸። ₅ወአውጽእዎ⁹፡ ለጽዮን፡ ውስተ፡ ገዳም፡

57¹ ₐ₋ₐ ’ሐመር፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሮሙ፡ አናቅጹተ፡ (sic) B; ’ ወበውስተ፡ ሀገር፡ አናጺተ፡ (sic) C; ወአምጽአ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሮሙ፡ አናጹተ፡ በውስተ፡ አሕማር፡ F; ’ሐመር፡’ P; ወአምጽአ፡ በውስተ፡ አህጉሮሙ፡ አናጹተ፡ S | ² ዓቢየ፡ ξ; መካናተ፡ ወዓቢየ፡ add. S | ³ መቅሠፍተ፡ Sξ | ⁴ om. S | ⁵ ወይቤሎ፡ DP; om. F | ⁶ om. F; በሀገርነ፡ S | ⁷ ታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ ለአምላከ፡ እስራኤል፡ ϑ; ታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ እስራኤል፡ C; ታቦቱ፡ ለአምላክነ፡ S | ⁸ om. C; ’ እዴሁ፡ F | ⁹ ላዕሌነ፡ λS. 58¹ አስተጋብእዎሙ፡ ϑ | ² መሣፍንተ፡ P | ³ om. C | ⁴ ጠጢባን፡ (sic) D | ⁵ ቢታውያን፡ ϑ; ጌታያውያን፡ C; ጌታዊያን፡ ε | ⁶ ኀቤነ፡ C | ⁷ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ add. S. 59¹ om. ϑCD | ² ወእምድኅረ፡ ϑCD | ³ ወመጽአ፡ እደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ add. C | ⁴ ኮነ፡ S | ⁵ ዓቢየ፡ ξ | ⁶ ሁከተ፡ ξ | ₇₍ₐ₋ₐ₎ ዓቢይ፡ ሁከት፡ ጥቀ፡ ኮነ፡ F | ⁸ መቀሠፎሙ፡ (sic) F | ⁹ ውእቱ፡ C; ዛቲ፡ S | ¹⁰ om. C | ¹¹ ላቲ፡ ϑ | ¹² ቢታውያን፡ ϑ; ጌቴያውያን፡ C; ጌታዊያን፡ K | ¹³ በአርአያ፡ C; ምስለ፡’ S | ¹⁴ om. ϑ | ¹⁵ om. D | ¹⁶ ጽዮን፡ add. C; ፭ኤል፡ S. 60¹ ለጽዮን፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሪ፡ አስቀሎና፡ ወጸርሑ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ ሰብአ፡ አስቀሎና፡ add. C | ² ወይቤሎ፡ P; ይቤሉ፡ S | ³ ለምንት፡ ϑ; om. S | ⁴ አግባእክዋ፡ S | ⁵ ለጽዮንሃ፡ C; ለጽዮን፡ DS | ⁶ ፭ኤል፡ S | ⁷ ታቅትሉነ፡ ϑ | ⁸ አንስቲያን፡ D; አንስትያነ፡ F | ⁹ ₐ₋ₐ ምስለ፡ ሕዝብነ፡ ወደቂቅነ፡ ወአንስቲያነ፡ ወኵሉ፡ እንስሳነ፡ S | ¹⁰ om. P | ¹¹ ለመኳንንተ፡ A; ለመሣፍንት፡ ወለመኳንንተ፡ ϑ; om. F | ¹² ለ’ F | ¹³ ምንተ፡ ንሬስያ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወይቤልዎሙ፡ add. ϑ | ¹⁴ ፈነውዋ፡ T | ¹⁵ ከመ፡’ ϑ; ትእቱ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ C; ውስተ፡ መካና፡ ትንበር፡ F. 61¹ ወእምዝ፡ ፈነውዋ፡ β | ² ₐ₋ₐ ’ ውስተ፡ መካና፡ ትንበር፡ F; om. S | ³ ወትንግሥ፡ FS | ⁴ ላዕለ፡ ϑ | ⁵ ወምውታን፡ AF; ወሙታን፡ ϑ; ወሙታንሂ፡ CS | ⁶ ወዓርጉ፡ QS | ⁷ ጽራሕ፡ K; ጽራኃ፡ FT | ⁸ ᵦ₋ᵦ ወዓርገ፡ እስከ፡ ሰማይ፡ ጽራኃ፡ ሀገር፡ F | ⁹ ወአምጽእዋ፡ ϑ

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ወነበረት፡ ህየ[10]፡ ፮[11]፡ አውራኃ[12]። ወነበረት[13]፡ ባህቲታ። (62) ₁⌜ወኮነት፡ ደኃሪት፡ [F8vb] ዘተአኪ፡ እምቀዳሚት[1]። ₂ወሶበ[2]፡ ተሰደት፡ ገዳመ[3]፡ ₍c₎ታ[T32ra]ቦተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ₍c₎አምላክነ[4]፡ አውጽአት[5]፡ ምድሮሙ፡ አናጹተ[6]፡ በከመ[7]፡ አውጽአት፡ ምድረ፡ ግብጽ፡ ቁርናነዓተ[8]፡ በእንተ፡ ጸአተ፡ እስ[A6vc]ራኤል[9]። ₃ₐወከማሁ[10]፡ አውጽአት፡ ₐምድሮሙ[11]፡ በእንቲአሃ[12]፡ ለጽዮን።

(63) ₁ወው[C17r]እተ[1]፡ ጊዜ[2]፡ ጸውእዎሙ፡ ኢሎፍሊ[3]፡ ወሰብአ[4]፡ አስቀሎና[5]፡ ለማርያን[6]፡ ₑወለሰብአ፡ መቅስም[7]፡ ወለሰብአ፡ ₑሥራይ[8]። [K8ra] ₂ወይቤ[D48rb]ልዎሙ፡ ምንተ፡ ንሬስያ[9]፡ ለጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ አምላከ[10]፡ እስራኤል[11]። ₃እስኩ፡ አይድኡነ፡ ወእስኩ[12]፡ ም[F9ra]ክሩነ[13]፡ ዘንገብር፡ በእንቲአሃ[14]። [B11r] ₄ወበምንት፡ ግብር፡ ንፈንዋ[15]፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገ[T32rb]ራ[16]፡ ₓትንበር፡ ወውስተ[17]፡ ₓመካና[18]። (64) ₁ወአይድእዎሙ፡ መሠርያን፡ ቀኒዖ[A7ra]ሙ፡ ⌜ዓቢየ፡ ቅንዓተ[1]፡ ₘበእንተ፡ ዳጎን[2]፡ ₘአምላ[Q4rb]ኮሙ[3]። ₂ወይቤልዎሙ፡ ጽዮን[4]፡ ትእቱ[5]፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ[6]፡ ኀበ[7]፡ ሕዝባ። ₃አኮ፡ ዘንፈ[C17v]ንዋ[8]፡ ዕራቃ፡ ወአኮ፡ ባሕቲታ። ₄አላ[9]፡ ፈንዎታሰ[10]፡ ይኩን፡ ምስለ፡ ብዙኅ[11]፡ ሞፃ[12]። (65) ₁ወይቤልዎሙ፡ ⌜ሰብእ፡ ለማርያን[1]፡ አይ[2]፡ ሞፃ[3]፡ ዘይደልዋ[4]፡ ወምንተ[5]፡ ንዋየ[6]፡ [S140vb] ዘናተሉ፡ [D48va] ላቲ። ₂ወን[K8rb]ሕነሰ[7]፡ በምንትኒ[8]፡ ኢንፈርህ፡ ወበምንትኒ[9]፡ ኢነሐዝን[10]፡ በእንተ፡ ንዋይ[11]፡ ዘሞፃሃ[12]። [F9rb] ₃ነሐዝንሰ[13]፡ ፈድፋደ[14]፡ በእንተ፡ ብዙኅ[15]፡ ስቃይ[16]፡ [A7rb] ዘ[T32va]በጽሐተነ[17]፡ በእንቲአሃ[18]፡ ⌜ወእም፡ ኀቢሃ[19]።

(66) ₁ወይቤልዎሙ፡ መሠርያን፡ ሀብዋ፡ ሞጻሃ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘአኃዝክምዋ[1]፡ ወጼወውክምዋ። ₂ወኢትፈንውዋ፡ ዕራቃ፡ ከመ[2]፡ ትሠሃልክሙ[3]። ₃ወሞፃሃኒ[4]፡ ከመዝ፡ ለይኩ[C18r]ን፡ በጉልቈ፡ ⌜ኃምስቱ፡ መሣፍንት[5]፡ ዘኢሎፍሊ[6]፡ [P12] በከመ[7]፡

61[10] በህየ፡ ፩ | [11] ፮ተ፡ ፩ | [12] አወርኃ፡ F | [13] om. C፩. 62[1] ወኮነት፡ ደኃሪተ፡ ጌጋዮሙ፡ ዘየአኪ፡ እምቀዳሚት፡ C; ወኮነት፡ ደኃሪት፡ እምቀዳሚ፡ ተአኪ፡ F; ወኮነት፡ ደኃሪታ፡ ተአኪ፡ እምቀዳሚ፡ S | [2] ሶበ፡ S | [3] ገዳም፡ A | [4] c-c ታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ እስራኤል፡ C; ታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ ፳ኤል፡ S | [5] ወአውጽአት፡ AKFξ| [6] አናጹት፡ C | [7] ዘከመ፡ ፩ | [8] ቁርነናዓተ፡ ፩K; ቁርነንዓት፡ C; ቁርነናተ፡ DF; ቁርነነዓተ፡ S | [9] ፳ኤል፡ S | [10] ከማሁ፡ C | [11] d-d om. ፩ | [12] በእንቴአሃ፡ (sic) F. 63[1] ውእተ፡ C; ወውእቱ፡ D | [2] አሚረ፡ ፩ | [3] ኢሎፍላውያን፡ S | [4] ለሰብአ፡ CS; ወለሰብአ፡ D | [5] አስቃሎና፡ T | [6] ወለሰብአ፡ ማርያን፡ C | [7] ቀሰም፡ C; መቃስም፡ F; መቅልም፡ S | [8] e-e '*ሥራይ*፡' መቅስም፡ ፩ | [9] ንረስያ፡ C | [10] አምለከ፡ (sic) P | [11] ፳ኤል፡ S | [12] om. S | [13] ወአመከሩነ፡ C; ምክረ፡ S | [14] በእንቲአየ፡ F | [15] ንፈንዋ፡ CDT | [16] ሀገር፡ β | [17] om. λ; ውስተ፡ S | [18] f-f om. ፩; ትንበር፡ በመካና፡ C. 64[1] ቅንዓተ፡ ዓቢየ፡ F; ዓቢየ፡ C | 2 om. C | 3 g-g om. ፩ | 4 ለጽዮን፡ C | 5 ተአቱ፡ ፩ | 6 መካና፡ C | 7 ወውስተ፡ S | 8 ዘንፈንዋ፡ ፩F; ዘትፈንውዋ፡ C; ወአኮ፡ ዘትትፈነው፡ S | 9 om. C | 10 ፈንዎትሰ፡ S | 11 ብዙኃ፡ C | 12 ሙፃአ፡ C; ፃማ፡ add. D; አመፃ፡ S. 65[1] ሰብአ፡ ሰማርያ፡ B; ሰብአ፡ ሰማርያን፡ F; ሰብአ፡ ማርያን፡ S | [2] ዓባይ፡ D | [3] ሙፃሃ፡ C | [4] ይደልዎ፡ C; ዘይደልዎ፡ DS | [5] ወምንት፡ ፩S | [6] ንዋየ፡ C; ንዋይ፡ ፩S | [7] ንሕነሰ፡ S | [8] ምንተ፡ S | [9] om. S | [10] ወኢነሐዝን፡ S | [11] ንዋየ፡ C; በንዋይ፡ F | [12] ዘሙፃሃ፡ C | [13] ነሐዝሰ፡ (sic) D; ጻእሙ፡ ነሐዝን፡ F | [14] om. S | [15] ጥፍአተ፡ ንዋይ፡ D; ንዋይ፡' KQS | [16] ስቃያ፡ C; ወ' D | [17] ዘበጽሐነ፡ ፩; ዘይበጽሐነ፡ C | [18] om. C | [19] ወመጽአ፡ ብነ፡ ፩; ኀቢሃ፡ C; ወእም፡ አሜሃ፡ ε; ዘእም፡ ኀቢሃ፡ F. 66[1] ዘአኅዘንክምዋ፡ C | [2] om. F | [3] ተሠሃልክሙ፡ BC; ትሣሃልክሙ፡ DPS | [4] ወሙሃሃኒ፡ C; ወሞፃሃ፡ D | [5] ፮፡' A; ፮ቱ፡' ፩; መሣፍንት፡ ፮፡ C; አምስቱ፡' D | [6] ጉልቈ፡ ነፍስክሙ፡ ይኩን፡ add. (s.l.) B | [7] ወከመ፡ D

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አማሰነት[8]፡ ለምድርክ[B11v]ሙ[9]፡ ፈኒዋ፡ አናጹተ። ₄ወላቲኒ[10]፡ ሀብዋ[11]፡ አናጹተ[12]፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ብዙኃ[13]፡ ወሰብሕዎ፡ [D48vb] ለአምላ[K8va]ከ፡ እስራኤል[14]፡ ከመ[15]፡ ያሰስል[16]፡ እደሁ፡ እምላዕሌክሙ[17]፡ ወእምላዕለ[18]፡ [Q4rc][F9va] አማ[A7rc]ልክቲክሙ[19]። (67) ₁ወሰሚዖሙ፡ ሰብእ[1]፡ አርመመሙ[2]፡ ወኢፈቀዱ፡ ፈንዎታ[3]፡ ለጽዮን። ₂ወይቤልዎሙ፡ ካዕበ፡ ለም[T32vb]ንት[4]፡ ታከብዱ፡ ልበክሙ[5]፡ በከመ[6]፡ ከብደ፡ ልቦሙ፡ ለሰብእ፡ ግብጽ፡ በእንተ፡ ፈንዎቶሙ[7]፡ ⸢ለደቂቀ፡ እስራኤል[8]። (68) ₁ₐወሶበ፡ ከብደ፡ እዴሁ፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ ፈነዎሙ[1]፡ ₐፈርዖን[2]፡ ወወጽኡ[3]። ₂ወአንትሙኒ፡ ፈንወዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወሥ[C18v]ርዐ[4]፡ ላቲ[5]፡ ሠረገላተ፡ ሐዳሳተ[6]። ₃ወአምጽኡ[7]፡ ፪[8]፡ ዕጕላት[9]፡ [D49ra] ⸢እለ፡ ተበኵራ[10]። ₄ወዕጕሊሆን[11]፡ ይንብራ[12]፡ [S141ra] ውስተ፡ ቤት። ₅ወእሎ[A7va]ንት[K8vb]ኒ[13]፡ ሠረገላተ[14]፡ አንብ[F9vb]ሩ፡ መልዕልቴሆን[15]፡ ለዕጕላት[16]። ₆ወለታቦትኒ፡ አንብርዋ[17]፡ ውስተ[18]፡ ሠረገላ፡ ወዝክተኒ፡ ንዋየ፡ ወርቅ[19]፡ አትልዉ[20]፡ ላቲ፡ [B12r] በድኅሬሃ[21]።

(69) ₁ወኢትግበሩ[1]፡ ላቲ[2]፡ ቤርስክታነ[3]፡ በገቦሃ፡ ወፈንውዋ[4]፡ [T33ra] ትእቱ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ። ₂ወእምዝ[5]፡ ገብሩ፡ በከመ፡ አዘዝዎሙ[6]። ₃ወነሥኡ[7]፡ ፪[8]፡ ዕጕላተ[9]፡ እለ፡ ተበኵራ። ₄ወአፀዉ[10]፡ ዕጕላ[C19r]ተ[11]፡ [ውስተ][12]፡ ቤት[13]። ₅ወአ[Q4va]ምጽኡ[14]፡ ሠረገላ[15]፡ ወአንበርዎን[16]፡ ላዕለ[17]፡ ዕጕላት[18]። ₆ወዲቤሆን[19]፡ አንበርዋ[20]፡ ለጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ [A7vb] ሕግኒ። ₇ₐወፓ[21]፡ ቃላት፡ ₐበከ[D49rb]ር[F10ra]ሣ[22]። (70) ₁ወአምጽኡ፡ አርጋበ፡ ወአናጹተ። ₂አትለዉ[1]፡ በድኅሬሃ[2]፡ ወአርትዑ[3]፡ ሐዊረ፡ ⸢ዕጕ[K9ra]ላት፡ ፍኖተ[4]፡ ኢለየማን፡ ወኢለፀጋም።[P13] ₃ወተለውዎ[5]፡ ፓ[6]፡ መሣፍንት፡ ዘኢሎፍሊ[7]፡ ወፓ[8]፡ ዘአዛጦን[9]፡ ወፓ[10]፡ ዘጌት[11]፡ ወፓ[12]፡ ዘአቅርጎት[13]፡ ወፓ[14]፡ ዘጋዛ[15]፡ ወፓ[16]፡ [ዘአስቀሎና፡][17] ₄‡...‡

66[8] አማሰነታ፡ FS | [9] ምድረክሙ፡ β | [10] ወለይእቲኒ፡ F; ለይእቲኒ፡ P | [11] ወሀብዋ፡ F | [12] አናጹታ፡ C; አናጹተተ፡ (sic) D; አናጹታተ፡ Fξ; አጹናተ፡ (sic) S | [13] ብዙኃተ፡ S | [14] ፳ኤል፡ S | [15] s.l. F | [16] ይሰስል፡ Aξ | [17] om. C ላዕሌክሙ፡ S | [18] እምላዕለ፡ C | [19] አማልክቲነ፡ C. 67[1] ዘንተ፡ add. C | [2] ወአርመሙ፡ C | [3] ፈኒዎታ፡ A | [4] ለምንታ፡ (sic) D | [5] ለበክሙ፡ (sic) A | [6] ወከመ፡ S | [7] ፈኒዎቶሙ፡ A | [8] ለእስራኤል፡ λ; ’ ፳ኤል፡ S. 68[1] ፈንዎሙ፡ εF | [2] a-a om. C | [3] እስራኤል፡ add. C | [4] ወሥዑ፡ (sic) D; ወሠርዑ፡ CS | [5] om. S | [6] ሐዲስ፡ C; ሐዲሰ፡ εξ; ሐዲሳተ፡ F | [7] ላቲ፡ add. C | [8] ፪ተ፡ δ; ክልኤተ፡ F | [9] ዕጕላተ፡ λDT | [10] አስተበኵራተ፡ (sic) C | [11] ወዕጕሊሆን፡ C; ወዕጕላቲሆን፡ F | [12] ይነብራ፡ A; ያንብራ፡ C; ይደበራ፡ (sic) S | [13] ወእሎንትኒ፡ A; ወውእቱኒ፡ CK; ወውእተኒ፡ Dξ; ወውእቶንኒ፡ F; ወውእቶሙኒ፡ S | [14] ሠረገላ፡ C | [15] መልዕልቲሆን፡ (sic) A | [16] ለዕጕላት፡ λT | [17] አንበርዋ፡ AQε | [18] መልዕልተ፡ S | [19] ዘሞጻሃ፡ add. C | [20] አትልውዋ፡ P አትለዉ፡ S | [21] ድኅሬሃ፡ A; om. δ. 69[1] ወግበሩ፡ δ; ወኢይግበሩ፡ S | [2] ባቲ፡ ε | [3] ቢርስክታነ፡ AKT; ቤርስክታነ፡ B; ቤርስክታኒ፡ C; ቤርስክተነ፡ (sic) D; ቢርሴክታና፡ P | [4] ወፈነውዋ፡ DS | [5] ሶበ፡ ሰምዖ፡ ዘንተ፡ add. C | [6] አዘዝዎ፡ S | [7] ነሥኡ፡ S | [8] ፪ተ፡ δ; ክልኤተ፡ F | [9] ዕጕላተ፡ λεT | [10] ወአፀውዕ፡ (sic) F | [11] በዕጕላት፡ β; በዕጕሊሆን፡ φ; በዕጕሊሆሙ፡ ε | [12] om. αβ | [13] ቤተ፡ αβ | [14] ላቲ፡ add β | [15] ሠረገላተ፡ λ | [16] ወአንበሩ፡ CS; ወአንብርዎን፡ T | [17] ለእሉ፡ δ | [18] ዕጕልት፡ δCS; ዕጕላት፡ F | [19] ወዲቤሃ፡ ASεξ; om. δ; ወዲቤሁ፡ C | [20] አንብርዋ፡ A; ወአንበርዋ፡ δ; om. S | [21] ወፓቱ፡ δ | [22] a-a om. S. 70[1] ወአትለዉ፡ A; ወአትልዉ፡ Cδ; አትልዉ፡ FQ | [2] ድኅሬሃ፡ S | [3] ወአርትዓ፡ δ; ወርትዑ፡ C; ወአርትው፡ F | [4] ፍኖት፡ ዕጕላት፡ A; እንዘ፡ ይብላ፡ add. B; ዕጕልት፡ ፍኖተ፡ CS; ወኢተግህሡ፡ add. C; ዕጕለት (sic) ፡ ፍኖተ፡ F; እንዘ፡ ኢይብላ፡ add. P | [5] ወተለወዋ፡ (sic) C | [6] ፳ቱ፡ δ | [7] ዘኤሎ’ C | [8] ወፓዱ፡ δ; ፓ። C | [9] ወዘአዛጦን፡ C | [10] ወፓቱ፡ δ; ፪፡ C; ወክልኤ፡ F | [11] ወዘጌት፡ C | [12] ወፓቱ፡ δ; ፑ፡ C; ወፗ (sic) F; ወፓ (sic) S | [13] ዘአቃሮን፡ s.l. B; ወአቃሮና፡ C | [14] ወፓቱ፡ δ; ፓ፡ C | [15] ወዘጋዛ፡ C; ዘጋዳ፡ F | [16] ወፓቱ፡ δ; ፓ፡ C; ወአምስቱ፡ D; ወኀምስቱ፡ F | [17] om. αβ

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አናጹተ[18]፡ ዘወርቅ፡ በጐልቈ፡ ኵሎን[19]፡ [T33rb] አህጉሪሆሙ[20]። ₅ወሖሩ፡ እስከ፡ በጽሑ[21]፡ ሳሚስ[22]፡ ወጊዜ፡ ማዕረር፡ ውእቱ፡ አ[C19v]ሜ[B12v]ሃ።

(71) ₁ወሰብአ፡ ሳሚስሰ፡ የዓጽዱ፡ ሥርናየ። [A7vc] ₂ₐወሶበ[1]፡ ₐርእይዋ[2]፡ ለጽዮን፡ ተፈሥሑ፡ ወተሐሠዩ፡ ወተቀበልዋ፡ [F10rb] ወአንበርዋ፡ ምስለ፡ ሠረገላ፡ ውስተ፡ ገራህት። ₃ወዘቤተ[3]፡ ሳሚስ[4]፡ ሰ[D49va]ብእ[5]፡ ዘተቀበልዋ፡ ገብሩ፡ መሥዋዕተ[6]፡ በህየ[7]፡ ለእግዚአብሔር። ₄⸢ውእተ፡ ጊዜ[8]፡ ዕጐላተ[9]፡ ‡...‡[10]። [S141rb] ₅ወአሜሃ፡ ኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ስብሐት። ₆ወ[K9rb]እምህየ[11]፡ ተቀበልዋ[12]፡ ካህናት፡ [Q4vb] ለጽዮን፡ ⸢ታቦተ፡ ሕግ፡ ዘአምላክ፡ እስራኤል[13]። (72) ₁ወአ‡...‡ዋ[1]፡ መልዕልቴ[T33va]ሃ[2]፡ ወንዋየ፡ ወርቅኒ፡ አትለዉ[3]፡ ላቲ። ₂ወርእዮሙ፡ ዘንተ[4]፡ ⸢ፌ፡ መሣፍንት[5]፡ ም[C20r]ስለ፡ [A8ra] ሠራዊቶሙ፡ ተመይጡ፡ ውስተ[6]፡ አስቀሎና[7]፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ አምሰጥናሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወሃደግናሃ። ₃ወአሜሃ፡ ሶበ፡ ርእይዋ፡ [F10va] ለጽዮን፡ ወኢተቀበልዋ[8]፡ ደቂቀ፡ ኢኮንዩ፡ ምስለ፡ ሰብአ፡ ሳሚስ። ₄ወ[D49vb]ቀተሉት፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ ⸢ፌ፬ወ፤፡ ብእሴ[9]። [B13r] (73) ₁ወለሀዉ፡ ⸢ሰብእ፡ እለ፡ ተርፉ[1]፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ ወተበቀለነ[2]፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን። ₂ₐወእምድኅረ፡ ገብረት፡ ዘንተ[3]፡ ይቤሉ[4]፡ ሰ[K9va]ብእ፡ ሳሚስ፡ ምንተ፡ ንግበር፡ በእንተ፡ ₐጽዮን[5]። ₃ወበአይ[6]፡ መካን፡ ናንብራ[7]። [C20v] ₄ወፈነዉ[8]፡ ላእካነ፡ ኀበ፡ እለ[9]፡ ይነብሩ፡ ቀርያ[T33vb]ታርም[10]። ₅እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ አግብእዋአ[11]፡ ለጽዮ[A8rb]ንአ[12]፡ ታቦትአ[13]፡ ኢሎፍሊአ[14]፡ ንዑአ፡ ተቀበልዋአ፡ ኀቤክሙ[F10vb]አ[15]።

(74) ₁ወሰሚዖሙ[1]፡ ዘንተ፡ ተፈሥሑ፡ ₐወመጽኡ[2]፡ ₐወተ[Q4vc]ቀበልዋ[3]፡ [P14] ወወሰድዋ[4]፡ ቤተ፡ አሚናዳብ፡ ዘሀለ፡ መልዕልተ፡ ወግ[D50ra]ር[5]። ₂ወአሜሃ፡ ቀደስዋ፡ ወወሀብዋ[6]፡ ለአልዓዛር[7]፡ ከመ፡ ይዕቀባ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ካህነ[8]። ₃ወነበረት፡ ከመዝ፡ ብዙኃ፡ መዋዕለ፡ እስከ፡ የአ[S141va]ክል[9]፡ ፯[10]፡ ዓመተ[11]።

(75) ₁ወእምዝ፡ በመንግሥተ፡ ዳዊት[1]፡ አመ፡ [C21r] ቀተሎሙ[2]፡ ለኢሎፍሊ፡ ⸢ወነ[K9vb]ሥአሙ፡ ዳዊት[3]፡ ለኵሎሙ፡ [A8rc] ወራዙተ[4]፡ እስራኤል[5]፡ መጠነ[6]፡ ፯፬[7]። ₂ወተንሥአ[8]፡ ወሖረ፡ ከመ፡ ያም[T34ra]ጽእዋ[9]፡ [F11ra] ⸢እምኀበ፡ ሀለወት፡ ጽዮን[10]፡

7$0^{18}$ አናጹተኒ፡ C | [19] om. C; ኵሉ፡ T | [20] አህጉሪሆን፡ δ | [21] ቤት፡ B; ቤተ፡ C | [22] ሳሚሰ፡ B; ሳሚዕ፡ C; ሳምሳ፡ P. 7$1^{1}$ ሶበ፡ C | [2] a-a S.l. A | [3] ዘቤተ፡ C; ወዘሰብአ፡ S | [4] ሳሚስ፡ D; ሳሚስሰ፡ F | [5] ወሰብእሰ፡ C | [6] መሥዋተ፡ S | [7] om. S | [8] እልክተ፡ C | [9] ዕገላት፡ BS; ዕጓላተ፡ C | [10] ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ B; ሦው፡ ወአቅረቡ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ በህየ፡ ውእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ P; ቆሙ፡ S | [11] ወበህየ፡ β | [12] om. S | [13] ታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ እስራኤል፡ C; ታቦት፡ ዘአምላክ፡ ፌል፡ S. 7$2^{1}$ ወአመርገብዋ፡ ACεξ; ወአመርዓውዋ፡ δ; ወአንበርዋ፡ F; ወአመ፡ ገብርዋ፡ S | [2] መልዕልቲሃ፡ F | [3] አእተዉ፡ δ; አትልዉ፡ F; አቅለዉ፡ S | [4] እልክቱ፡ C; om. S | [5] ፌቱ፡’ δ; መሣፍንት፡ ፌ፡ C | [6] ምስለ፡ D | [7] አጽቀሎና፡ F | [8] ኢተቀበልዋ፡ β | [9] ’ ብእሲ፡ ACD; ፌተ፡ ዕልፈ፡ ወ፫ዓ፡’ δ; ፌ፬፡’ F; ፌ፬፡ ብእሲ፡ S. 7$3^{1}$ እለ፡ ተርፉ፡ ሰብእ፡ S | [2] ተቀበለነ፡ δ; ተቀበሉነ፡ C; ተበቀለነ፡ F | [3] om. F | [4] ይደሉ፡ T; ይብሉ፡ S | [5] a-a om. β | [6] ወአይ፡ δεξ | [7] ናንብራ፡ β | [8] ወፈንዉ፡ K | [9] om. δ; s.l. D | [10] ቀርያቱም፡ C; ቀርያታም፡ FQS; ቀርያተርም፡ T | [11] አግብእዋ፡ εFS | [12] ለጽዮን፡ S | [13] ታቦትነአ፡ C; ታቦተአ፡ P | [14] om. S | [15] ኀቤክሙ፡ S. 7$4^{1}$ ወሰሚዖ፡ D | [2] መጽኡ፡ C | [3] a-a ወተቀበልዋ፡ ወመጽኡ፡ S | [4] ውስተ፡ add. F | [5] ደብር፡ C | [6] ወወሀብዎ፡ δS; om. C | [7] ካህን፡ add. C; ለአላዛር፡ D | [8] ከህነ፡ (sic) C | [9] ይእክል፡ A | [10] ፌ፡ C | [11] ዓመት፡ ACS. 7$5^{1}$ om. D | [2] ቀተሎ፡ β | [3] ዳዊት፡ ወነሥአሙ፡ F; ወነሥአሙ፡ C | [4] ወራዙት፡ C | [5] ፌኤል፡ S | [6] ዘየአክል፡’ C ወ’ F | [7] ፯፬፡ ፬፡ δ | [8] om. C | [9] ያምጽአ፡ C; ያውጽእዋ፡ F | [10] ለጽዮን፡ እምኀበ፡ ሀለወት፡ CS

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፦ታቦት፡ ሕጉ፡ ለእግዚ[B13v]አብሔር[11]፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ አሚናዳብ። ₃ወእንተ[12]፡ እምኀቤሃ[13]፡ ተሰምየ፡ እግዚአ፡ ኃይል።

(76) ₁መነሥእዋ፡ እምህየ[1]፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወወሰድዋ፡ እንዘ፡ ይጼልል፡ ፦ላዕሌሃ፡ ኪሩብ[2]። [D50rb] ₂ወዖፃሰ[3]፡ ፦ወልደ፡ አሚናዳብ፡ ይመርህ[4]፡ ቅድሜሃ[5]። ₃ወዳዊትሰ[6]፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወኵሎሙ[7]፡ እስራኤል[8]፡ ይትቀነዩ፡ ቅድመ[9]፡ እግዚአብ[C21v]ሔር፡ [Q5ra] በእንዚራ፡ ወየአነገሩ[10]፡ በኃይል። ₄ወየሐልዩ[11]፡ በጸናጽ[A8va]ል፡ ወበናብሊስ፡ ወበመሰንቆ[12]። ₅ወበ[K10ra]ጽሔ[13]፡ ውስተ፡ ዓውደ፡ እክል።

(77) ₁ወዖፃሰ[1]፡ አልዓለ፡ እዴሁ፡ ከመ፡ የአኃዝ፡ ለጽዮን። ₂ወነጽሖ[2]፡ [T34rb] ላሕም[3]፡ [F11rb] ለዖፃ[4]። ₃ወሞተ፡ በጊዜሃ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘፈቀደ፡ የአኃዝ፡ ለታቦት[5]፡ በኢ.ድልወቱ[6]። (78) ₁ወተከዘ[1]፡ ዳዊት፡ በእንተ፡ ሞቱ፡ ለዖፃ፡ ₐወበእንተ፡ ጽዮን። ₂ወይቤ፡ ዳዊት፡ እፈርህ[2]፡ እግዚኦ[3]፡ ₐእግዚአብሔር[4]፡ በእንተ[5]፡ ጽዮን፡ ታቦትከ[6]፡ [D50va]ዘተኃድር፡ ፦አንተ፡ ውስቴታ[7]። ₃እፎ[8]፡ ትበውእ፡ ኀቤየ፡ እንዘ፡ መጠነዝ፡ ኃይል፡ ይተልዋ። [C22r][B14r] ₄ወአይቴ[9]፡ እወስዳ፡ ወበአይቴ[10]፡ ተኃድ[A8vb]ር። [S141vb]

(79) ₁ወዘንተ፡ ብሒሎ፡ አብኣ፡ ለጽዮን[1]፡ ውስተ፡ ቤቱ[2]፡ ለአቢዳራ[3]፡ ዘጌት። ₂ወነበረት፡ ህየ፡ ፫[4]፡ አውራኃ። ₃ወእምዝ፡ ተባረከት[5]፡ ቤቱ፡ ለአቢዳራ[6]፡ ፦በ[K10rb]በአታ፡ ለጽዮን[7]፡ ፦በትእዛዙ፡ ለእ[T34va]ግዚአብሔር[8]። [P15] ₄ወዜነውዎ፡ ለዳዊት፡ ከመ[9]፡ [F11va] ተባረከ[10]፡ ቤቱ[11]፡ ለአ[Q5rb]ቢዳራ[12]፡ ወኮሉ[13]፡ ዘሀሎ፡ ኀቤሁ[14]፡ ፦በእንተ፡ ጽዮን[15]። (80) ₁ₐወሶበ[1]፡ ሰምዐ፡ ዳዊት፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ሐረ[2]፡ ከመ፡ ያምጽአ[3]፡ ₐለጽዮን[4]፡ ₙታቦተ፡ አምላከ፡ እስ[D50vb]ራኤል[5]፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ[6]፡ በትፍሥሕ[A8vc]ት። ₂መነሥኣ፡ ₙለጽዮን[7]፡ ምስለ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ሕዝብ[8]፡ [C22v] በ፭[9]፡ መሠናቅው[10]። ₃ወዳዊት፡ ንጉሥ[11]፡ የአነገር፡ በእንዚራ[12]፡ ፦እንዘ፡ ይቀድም፡ ወይቤ[13]፡ አንሰ፡ ተሰየምኩ፡ ንጉሠ[14]፡ በጽዮን፡ በደብረ፡ መቅደሱ፡ ከመ፡ እንግር፡ ትእዛዞ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር።

(81) ₁ወወሰድዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ በውዑ፡ [K10va] ወበቃለ፡ ቀርን። [B14v] ₂ወአንበርዋ፡ ውስተ፡ መ[T34vb]ካና፡ ወውስተ፡ ውሣጤ፡ [F11vb] ደብተራ፡ መርጡል[1]፡ ዘተከላ[2]፡ ዳዊት[3]። ₃ወአብአ[4]፡ መሥዋዕተ[5]፡ ለእግዚአብሔር[6]። [A9ra] ₄፦ወጠብሐ፡ መ[D51ra]ሥዋዕተ[7]፡

75[11] om. S | [12] እንተ፡ C | [13] በላዕሌሃ፡ C. 76[1] om. C | [2] ክንፈ፡ ኪ’ C; ኪሩብ፡ ላዕሌሃ፡ S | [3] ወአልዓዛርሰ፡ δ; ወዖፃ፡ C; ወአዛሰ፡ F | [4] om. F | [5] om. δ F | [6] ወዳዊትኒ፡ C; ወዳዊት፡ F; ዳዊትሰ፡ Q | [7] ወኮሉ፡ β | [8] ፭ኤል፡ S | [9] በቅድመ፡ C | [10] ወበመሰንቆ፡ δ; የአነገሩ፡ C | [11] ወይሔልዩ፡ β | [12] በኃይል፡ add. δ; ወበመሰቆ (sic) D | [13] ወበጽሐ፡ D. 77[1] ወዖፃ፡ C; ዖፃሰ፡ F | [2] ወነጽኦ፡ C | [3] ላሕመ፡ C | [4] om. C | [5] om. C | [6] በኢ.ድሎቱ፡ Q. 78[1] ወኢተከዘ፡ T | [2] om. C | [3] እግዚእ፡ እ’ C | [4] a-a ወጸለየ፡ ኀበ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላኩ፡ ወይቤ፡ β; om. F | [5]ወበእንተ፡ FK | [6] ተቦትከ፡ (sic) F; ታቦትነ፡ S | [7] እንተ፡’ δ; ውስቴታ፡ አንተ፡ S | [8] ወእፎ፡ δS | [9] አይቴ፡ C | [10] ወበአይ፡ ቤት፡ C. 79[1] om. β | [2] om. S | [3] ለአቢደራ፡ C | [4] ፫ተ፡ δ | [5] ተባረከ፡ C | [6] ለአቢደራ፡ C | [7] ወኮሎ፡ ዘሀሎ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽዮን፡ C | [8] ታቦተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ B; በትእዛዘ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ CP; በትእዛዙ፡ F; ወበትእዛዙ፡’ S | [9] ዘከመ፡ C | [10] ተባረከት፡ λS | [11] om. F | [12] ለአቢደራ፡ C | [13] ወኮሎ፡ D | [14] ኀቢሃ፡ C | [15] በዓታ፡ ለጽዮን፡ β; om. S. 80[1] ወሶቢሃ፡ F | [2] ወሖረ፡ δ; ፈቀደ፡ S | [3] ’አ፡ D | [4] a-a om. C | [5] ፭ኤል፡ S | [6] ሀገሩ፡ C | [7] b-b ’ ወነሥእዋ፡ ለጽ’ C; om. F | [8] ሰብእ፡ S | [9] በ፭ቱ፡ δ; ወይሠነቅዉ፡ ወበ፭፡ C | [10] እለ፡ ይሠነቅዉ፡ add. D; ይሠነቅዉ፡ add. FKξ | [11] om. F | [12] om. F | [13]ይብል፡ β; ’ ይቀውም፡ ’ D λ | [14] በላዕሌሆሙ፡ add. δC. 81[1] om. C | [2] ዘዘተከለ፡ (sic) C; ዘተከለ፡ D | [3] om. C | [4] ዳዊት፡ add. δ | [5] መሥዋዕቱ፡ D | [6] om. S | [7] ’ አልሕምተ፡ βC; om. S

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ወአባግዓ[8]፡ ለመድቅሐ[9]፡ ዚአሃ። (82) ₁ወብእሲቱ[1]፡ ለዳዊት[2]፡ ⸢ወለቱ፡ ለሳዖል[3]፡ ⸢ቀኒዓ፡ ቅንዓት[4]፡ ሶበ፡ ር[C23r]እየቶ፡ እንዘ፡ ይዘፍን፡ በእንተ፡ [Q5rc] ጽዮን[5]። ₂⸢ወመነነቶ፡ በልባ[6]፡ ወትቤ፡ እምይእዜሰ፡ ኢይከውነኒ[7]፡ ምትየ፡ እንዘ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘርእያሁ[8]፡ ⸢አ[S142ra]ዋልደ፡ ሀገር[9]፡ እንዘ[10]፡ ይዘፍን። ₃በእንተዝ[11]፡ ተአጽወ[12]፡ ማኅፀና። ₄ወኮነት፡ መካነ፡ ወሞተት፡ ዘእንበለ[13]፡ ፍሬ። [F12ra]

(83) ₁ወዝኒ፡ ⸢ኃይል፡ ዘኮነ፡ ዘጽዮን[1]፡ [K10vb] ቅድስት፡ ወእንዘ፡ ሀለወት፡ ው[A9rb]ስተ፡ ደብተራ። ₂ወ[T35ra]ፈቀደ[2]፡ ዳዊት፡ ይሕንጽ፡ ማኅደረ[3]፡ ቤተ፡ አምላከ[4]፡ እስራኤል[5]፡ ወለታቦተ፡ ሕጉ፡ [D51rb] ጽዮን[6]። (84) ₁ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለዳዊት[1]፡ በአፈ[2]፡ ናታን፡ ነቢይ[3]፡ አኮ[4]፡ [C23v] ዘተሐንጽ፡ ⸢ሊተ፡ ቤተ[5]። ₂አላ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወልድከ[6]፡ ዘይነግሥ፡ እምድኅሬከ። ₃ወአቀውም፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ኪዳንየ[7]። ₄ወምሕረትየኒ[8]፡ ኢይርሕቅ፡ እም[B15r]ኔሁ። ₅ለእመ[9]፡ አበሰ[10]፡ አበሳ[11]፡ እጌስጾ፡ በበትረ፡ ውሉድ። [S142rb]

(85) ₁ወሰሚዖ፡ ዘንተ፡ ወይቤ[1]፡ ⸢ፈቃዱ፡ [F12rb] ለይኩን[2]። ₂ወሰሎሞንኒ[3]፡ ወልደ[4]፡ ⸢ዚአየ፡ ውእ[A9rc]ቱ[5]። ₃ወጎደገ፡ ሐኒጾታ[6]። ₄⸢ወታቦት፡ [P16] ነበረት[7]፡ በሥር[K11ra]ዓተ[8]፡ [Q5va] ሙሴ፡ ነቢይ። (86) ₁ወእምዝ፡ በፀ[1]፡ ዓመተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ለሰሎሞን፡ ወልደ፡ ዳዊት፡ በካልእ፡ [T35rb] ወርኀ፡ ⸢ወዝውእቱ፡ [C24r] ወርኃ፡ ማይዮስ[2]፡ አ[D51va]ዘዘ[3]፡ ከመ፡ ያምጽኡ፡ ዕብነ፡ ⸢ዓቢየ፡ ወክቡራተ[4]። ₂ወአምጽኡ፡ ሎቱ፡ ለሰሎሞን፡ ንጉሥ። ₃ወወቀርዎ፡ ደቂቀ[5]፡ ኪራም፡ ወደቂቀ[6]፡ ዚአሁ። ₄ወበራብዕ[7]፡ ዓም[8]፡ ⸢ ሣረሮ፡ ለቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር[9]፡ በወርኃ፡ ኔሳን[10]። (87) ₁ወከመዝ፡ ውእቱ[1]፡ ግብረቱ፡ መድምም፡ [A9va] ወዕፀ-ብ[2]፡ ለሰሚዕ[3]። ₂ₐወበ[F12va]እመት፡ ፵፡ ₐኑኁ[4]፡ ወ፷[5]፡ በእመት፡ ርኅቡ[6]፡ ፷ወ፭[7]፡ ላዕሉ[8]፡ ወኤላም፡ ቅድመ[9]፡ መቅደሱ[10]፡ ፷[11]፡ በእመት። [B15v] ₃ወሐኒጾቶ[12]፡ ለቤት[13]፡ ፈጸመ[14]። ₄⸢ወገብረ፡ መሳከወ፡ ኅቡ[K11rb]አተ[15]። ₅ወገብረ፡ እምዳቤር[16]፡ [C24v] እስከ[17]፡ ቅድስተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ፵፡ በእመ[D51vb]ት፡ ጽርሑ። ₆ወማዕከለ፡ ቤቱ[18]፡ እንተ፡ ውስጥ[19]፡ [T35va] ከመ፡ ትንበር[20]፡ ታቦተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጽዮን።

81[8] ወአግብአ፡ S | [9] ለመቅድሐ፡ DFST. 82[1] ወብእሲቱሰ፡ C | [2] ሜልኮል፡ add. δ | [3] ወለተ፡ ሳዖል፡ FS | [4] ቀንዓት፡ C | [5] om. S | [6] መነነቶ፡ በልባ፡ βS; ወወደየቶ፡ ውስተ፡ ልባ፡ C | [7] ኢኮነ፡ C; ኢይኩነኒ፡ F | [8] እንዘ፡' A; እስመ፡' δ | [9] om. C | [10] ሶበ። C | [11] ወበእንተዝ፡ Dλ | [12] ተዐጽው፡ (sic) B | [13] እንበለ፡ C. 83[1] ዘኮነ፡ ዘጽዮን፡ δ; ኃይል፡ ዘኮነ፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን፡ C; ዘኮነ፡ ኃይል፡ ዘጽዮን፡ S | [2] ፈቀደ፡ S | [3] om. C | [4] አምላክ፡ P | [5] ዘእስራኤል፡ P; ፭ኤል፡ S | [6] ለጽዮን፡ C. 84[1] om. βS, | [2] በእደ፡ βε; በእንተ፡ Fξ | [3] ለዳዊት፡' S | [4] አንተ፡ add. CS | [5] ቤተ፡ ሊተ፡ F | [6] ውሉድከ፡ δ | [7] ኪዳነ፡ F | [8] ወምሕረትየ፡ F | [9] ወለእመ፡ δC | [10] አመ፡' F | [11] om. δC; አብሰ፡ S. 85[1] ይቤ፡ S | [2] om. δ; ፈቀዱ፡ (sic) ' C; ለይኩን፡ ፈቃዱ፡ S | [3] ሰሎሞን፡ BF; ሰሎሞንኒ፡ P | [4] ወልድየ፡ C | [5] om. C | [6] ሐኒጻ፡ C | [7] ወታቦትኒ፡ ' β; ወነበረት፡ ታቦት፡ ውስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ C | [8] በሥርዓት፡ C. 86[1] በፀቱ፡ δ | [2] ዝውእቱ፡ ሜዝያ፡ (sic) ዝውእቱ፡ ወርኃ፡ ማርልዮስ፡ add. C | [3] ወአዘዘ፡ C | [4] 'ወክቡረ፡ δFS; ክቡራተ፡ ወዓቢያተ፡ C | [5] ደቀ፡ CS | [6] ደቀ፡ C | [7] ወበራብዕ፡ F | [8] ዖም፡ S | [9] ለቤተ፡ እግ' ሣረሮ፡ S | [10] ኒሶን፡ C; አሳን፡ P; ኒሳን፡ S. 87[1] ኮነት፡ S | [2] om. C | [3] ወሰሚዕ፡ A | [4] ₐ₋ₐ ' ፵ዓ፡ ኑኁ፡ δ; ፵፡ በእመት፡ ኑኁ፡ C; በእመት፡' S | [5] ፭፡ A; ወ፭ራ፡ δ; ወ፮፡ S | [6] ራኅቡ፡ β | [7] ፭ወ፭ቱ፡ δ; ወ፭ወ፭፡ T | [8] om. F; በእመት፡ S; ለእሉ፡ T | [9] om. C | [10] ቅዱሱ፡ C | [11] ፭ራ፡ δ; ወ፯፡ C | [12] ወሐኒጾታ፡ β; ወሐነጸ፡ C; ወእመ፡ ፈጸመ፡ ሐኒጻ፡ add. F | [13] ለቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ δ; ቤቶ፡ C; ቤት፡ F; om. S | [14] ወፈጸመ፡ C | [15] om. δ; ' ኅቡአ፡ C; ገብረ፡' F | [16] እምነ፡ ዳቤር፡ C | [17] om. F | [18] ቤት፡ S | [19] ውስጡ፡ K | [20] ህየ፡ add. C.

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(88) ₁ወገብረ፡ ፪[1]፡ ኪሩብ[2]፡ መልዕልቴሃ[3]፡ ለጽዮን። ₂፲[4]፡ በእመት፡ ቆሙ፡ ወ፭[5]፡ ክንፉ፡ ለ፭[6]፡ ኪሩብ። [Q5ᵛᵇ] ₃ወለካልዑኒ፡ ከ[A9ᵛᵇ]ማሁ። ₄፲[7]፡ በእመት፡ ማዕከሎሙ፡ ጎበ፡ ይትረከብ[8]፡ ክነፊሆ[F12ᵛᵇ]ሙ። ₅ወ፪[9]፡ ዕሩያን፡ ወ፭[10]፡ ግብረቶሙ፡ ለ፪[11]። ₆ወይጼልሉ[12]፡ መልዕልተ፡ ታቦት፡ በክነፊሆሙ[13]፡ ዘወርቅ፡ በአፍአ[14]። ₇ወእንተ[15]፡ [C25ʳ] ውስጣኒ[16]፡ አትከለ[17]፡ ‡...‡ ። (89) ₁ወለጸፍጸፈ[1]፡ ቤቱ[2]፡ በወርቅ[3]፡ ቀፈሎ[4]። ₂ወመዓፁተኒ[5]፡ ገብረ፡ እምዕፀወ፡ ጳውቂና። ₃ወሕዋራቲሃኒ[6]፡ ራብዕ[7]፡ ወ[D52ʳᵃ]፪[8]፡ ማዕፁቲሃ[9]፡ ለአሐቲ[10]፡ [K11ᵛᵃ] ኖኅት። ₄ወለካልእታ፡ ከማሁ[11]። ₅ወመንጠዋልኢሆን[12]፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ው[B16ʳ]ዱዳት[13]። [A9ᵛᶜ] (90) ₁ወዓዲ፡ ገብ[T35ᵛᵇ]ረ፡ መንጦላዕተ፡ ለዓፀደ[1]፡ ኤላም፡ ዘቅድስት[2]፡ ቅዱሳን። ₂ወአቀመ፡ ፪[3]፡ አዕማደ፡ ዘኤላም፡ ፣ዘውስተ፡ መቅደስ[4]። ₃ወለ፭[5]፡ ሰመዮ፡ ያ[F13ʳᵃ]ቁም፡ [S142ᵛᵃ][P17] ወለካልኡ[6]፡ ሰመዮ[7]፡ በለዝ። ₄ወውስተ፡ አርእስተ[8]፡ አዕማድ፡ [C25ᵛ] ገብረ[9]፡ ጽጌያተ፡ ዘበርብዕ[10]፡ በእመት። (91) ₁ወገብረ፡ ባሕረ፡ በህየ። ₂ወመታግራትኒ[1]፡ ባቲ[2]፡ ፲ወ፪[3]፡ አልሕምት[4]። መትሕታ[5]፡ እለ፡ ይኔጽሩ[6]፡ በበ፲[7]፡ መስዓ፡ ፣ወባሕረ፡ ወአዜበ፡ ወጽባሐ[8]። ₃ወዘባናቲሆሙ፡ [Q5ᵛᶜ] መንገለ[9]፡ አረፍት። ₄ወይእቲ፡ ባሕር፡ እም[D52ʳᵇ][A10ʳᵃ]ላዕሌሆሙ። ₅ወሚኮትኒ[10]፡ ፲[11]፡ ዘብርት። ₆ወማዕከሉኒ[12]፡ አናብስት፡ ወአል[K11ᵛᵇ]ሕምት፡ ወኪሩብ። ₇ወ‡...‡መንኰራኵረ[13]፡ ‡...‡፬[14]፡ መታክፍቲሆሙ፡ አ[T36ʳᵃ]ናብስትኒ[15]፡ ወበቀልትኒ።

(92) ₁ወገብረ[1]፡ መስፈርተኒ[2]፡ ዘብርት[3]፡ ፲[4]፡ [B16ᵛ] ዘስሙ፡ ኪጥሮገውሎስ[5]፡ ዘ[F13ʳᵇ]ያገምር[6]፡ ፣፵፡ በመ[C26ʳ]ስፈርተ፡ ኮአስ ፣[7]። ₂ₐወለለ፭፡ ኮጥሚኮት፡ ፭፡ ₐ₂ኬጥሮስ[8]። ₃ወከማሁ[9]፡ ለ፲[10]፡ ሚኮት[11]። ₄ወአንበሮን[12]፡ እምገቦ፡ ቤት፡ ዘፀጋም። ₅ወባሕርሰ[13]፡

88[1] ፪ተ፡ ፀ | [2] ኪሩበ፡ B; ሥዕላተ፡’ P; ኪሩቤልሃ፡ S | [3] ወመልዕልቴሃ፡ C | [4] ፲ቱ፡ ፀ; ወ፲፡ F | [5] ወኃምስ፡ ፀ | [6] ለ፭ዱ፡ ፀ | [7] ፲ቱ፡ ፀ; ወይከውን፡ ’ add. C | [8] ይትራከብ፡ λ | [9] ወ፪ቱ፡ ፀ; ወ፪ሆሙ፡ C; ፪፡ F | [10] ፭ዱ፡ ፀ | [11] ለ፪ቱ፡ ፀ | [12] ወይጼልል፡ AFKξ | [13] በአክናፊሆሙ፡ C; ወክነፊሆሙ፡ F | [14] በአፍአኒ፡ ፀ; በአፍአሃ፡ S | [15] om. S | [16] ውስጥኒ፡ ፀ; ውስጥ፡ በህልቀት፡ add. C; ወወበውስጣኒ፡ (sic) S | [17] አትከላ፡ ξ; አትካለ፡ (sic) S; ተከለ፡ P.

89[1] ወጸፍጸፈ፡ ፀ | [2] ቤቱስ፡ C; om. S | [3] ወርቅ፡ Aεξ | [4] ቀፈሎ፡ ፀ; አቅፈሎ፡ C | [5] ወመዓፁትኒ፡ AF; ወለመፁታኒ፡ C; ወመዓፁታኒ፡ S | [6] ወኃዋራቲሃኒ፡ εQ; ወሐዋርያቲሃኒ፡ T | [7] ርብዕ፡ C | [8] ወ፪ኤ፡ ፀ; ወ፪ቱ፡ CD | [9] መዓፁቲሃ፡ ፀS; መዓፁታ፡ C | [10] ለአሐቲሁ፡ F | [11] ወከማሁ፡ K | [12] ወመንጠላዕልዒዋሆን፡ (sic) A; ወመንጦላውኢሆን፡ ፀ; ወመንጠዋልኢሃ፡ C; መንጠዋልኢሆን፡ F | [13] እስከ፡ ምድረ፡ ኮን፡ add. C.

90[1] ዘዓፀደ፡ ፀ | [2] ዘቅድስት፡ C | [3] ፪ተ፡ ፀ | [4] om. ፀ; በውስተ፡’ C | [5] ወለ፭ዱ፡ ፀ; ለ፭ዱ፡ CQ | [6] ለካልኡኒ፡ F | [7] om. F | [8] om. C | [9] ወገብረ፡ F | [10] ዘበርዕ፡ ፀC; ዘበራብዕ፡ FT; ዘበርብዕ፡ Q; ዘበ፬፡ S.

91[1] ወመሣግራትኒ፡ ፀ; መታገርተኒ፡ C | [2] ላቲ፡ C; ባሕቱ፡ F | [3] ፲ቱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ ፀ | [4] አልሕምተ፡ C | [5] መታሕተ፡ C; መትሕታት፡ D; መትሕተ፡ Sξ | [6] ይኔጽራ፡ C | [7] በበ፬፡ ፀ | [8] ወአዜበ፡ ምስራቅ፡ ወምዕራብ፡ ባሕረ፡ ወጽባሐ፡ add. C; ወበሕቁ፡ (sic) ’ F | [9] ውስተ፡ F | [10] ወሚኮኖትኒ፡ β; ወሜክኖትኒ፡ C; ወሚኮናቲሆሙ፡ S | [11] ዐሠርቱ፡ ፀ | [12] ወማዕከሎሙ፡ ሀለዉ፡ add. ፀ; ወማዕከሎን፡ C | [13] ወንኮራኵር፡ (sic) C; ወገብረ፡ መንኰራኵረ፡ P | [14] ፬ቱ፡ B; ለ፬ቱ፡ P | [15] አናብስት፡ F; ወአናብስት፡ S.

92[1] ወዓቢረ፡ F | [2] መስፈርተ፡ CS; መስፈርትኒ፡ F | [3] ብርትኒ፡ C | [4] ዐሠርቱ፡ ፀ; ፭፡ D | [5] ኬጥሮ፡ ገውሎስ፡ A; ኬጥሮገውሎስ፡ T; ኬጥሮ፡ ጋውሎስ፡ C; ኬጥሮጋውሎስ፡ F; ኪጥሮገውሎስ፡ KQ; ኬጥሮንውሎስ፡ (sic) S | [6] om. S | [7] በመስፈርተ፡ ኮአስ፡ ፵፡ A; በመስፈርተ፡ ኮአስ፡ ፵ዓ፡ ፀ; ’ ኮጢሳ፡ F | [8] a-a ’ ኪጥሮስ፡ A; om. ፀ; ወለ፭፡ ሚክኖት፡ ወለኬጥሮ፡ ጋውሎስ፡ C; ’ ኮጥሚኮሱ፡ ’ S | [9] ከማሁ፡ C | [10] ለ፲ቱ፡ ፀ; ፭፲፡ (sic) F | [11] ሚክኖት፡ C; ሚኮኖት፡ S | [12] ወአንብሮን፡ S | [13] ባሕርሰ፡ β

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መንገለ፡ የማን[14]፡ ጽባሐዊ[15]፡ በገቦ፡ አዜብ። (93) ₁ወከመዝ[1]፡ ገብረ[2]፡ ሰሎሞ[A10rb]ን፡ ንጉሥ፡ መቅደስ፡ በዘተውህቦ[3]፡ ጥበበ[4]፡ ሰ[D52va]ማያት[5]። ₂ወኢይምሰልከ[6]፡ እስኩ[7]፡ ከመዝ[8]፡ ግብረታ፡ ለታእካ፡ ሰማያት[9]፡ ኀበ፡ ትነብር፡ ጽዮን[10]፡ ቅድስት፡ ⸢እንተ፡ ይእቲ[11]፡ ₐእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም[12]፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ₐበ፪[13]። ₃ወው[K12ra]እቱ[14]፡ ገብረ[15]፡ በአስተማስሎ፡ በከመ[16]፡ ተውህቦ[17]፡ [T36rb] ጥበበ[18]፡ ሰማይ[19]። [S142vb] (94) ₁ወትርጓሜ[C26v]ሁሰ[1]፡ ከመዝ፡ [Q6ra] ው[F13va]እቱ። ₂ኪሩብ፡ ፪[2]፡ አምሳለ[3]፡ ፪[4]፡ ድንግልናሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ በከመ፡ ይቤላ[5]፡ ዮሐንስ፡ አክናፊሃኒ፡ ፪[6]። ₃ወ[A10rc]በቀልትኒ፡ ዓራተ፡ ሕማሙ፡ ለ[B17r]በግዕ[7]፡ ዘውእቱ[8]፡ መስቀል። [D52vb] (95) ₁ወጸፍጸፈ፡ ቤትኒ[1]፡ ዘተቀፍለ[2]፡ በወርቅ፡ [P18] ⸢ንጽሐ፡ ሥጋሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም[3]። ₂ወ፪[4]፡ ማዕፁቲሃ[5]፡ ለአሐቲ[6]፡ ኖኅት[7]፡ ዘይቤለከ[8]፡ ኦሪት[9]፡ ዘምስለ፡ ወንጌል። ₃ወዕፀ[10]፡ ጳውሎና፡ ጳጳሳት፡ እሙንቱ፡ እለ፡ ተሠይሙ[11]፡ አናቅጸ[12]፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን። ₄ወ፪[13]፡ አዕማድ[14]፡ [C27r] ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ እሙንቱ። ₅ወጽጌያት፡ ዘአርዕስቲ[F13vb]ሆሙ[15]፡ ሃይማኖት፡ [K12rb] ቅድ[T36va]ስት።

(96) ₁ወባሕርኒ[1]፡ ዘሀለወት፡ እምገቦ[2]፡ ቤት[3]፡ ዘየማን፡ ጽባሐዊ፡ [A10va] ዘመንገለ፡ አዜብ[4]፡ ጥምቀት፡ ይእቲ[5]፡ ዘሰበከ[6]፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ለኀድገተ፡ [D53ra] ኃጢአት። ₂ወመታግሪሃ[7]፡ ካህናት፡ እሙንቱ[8]። ₃ወጽጌያት፡ ዘበቀልት[9]፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ዘእለ[10]፡ ተጠምቁ፡ ወሥርዓታ[11]፡ ለጥምቀት። [Q6rb] (97) ₁ወ፲ወ፪[1]፡ አልህምት[2]፡ ዘሀለዉ፡ ኀቤሃ፡ ለባሕር[3]፡ ፲ወ፪[4]፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ዘሰበኩ፡ መስዓ፡ ወባሕረ[5]፡ ጽ[C27v]ባሐ[6]፡ ወአዜበ[7]። [B17v] ₂ወ፲[8]፡ ሚኮት[9]፡ ድሩጋን[10]፡ ከመ፡ ማዕገት[11]፡ ፲[12]፡ ቃላት[13]፡ ውእቱ[14]። ₃ወዘማዕከሉሰ[15]፡ አናብስት፡ ግሩማ[F14ra]ን[16]፡ ነቢያት፡ እሙንቱ[17]። [A10vb] ₄ወአ[S143ra]ልሕምትኒ[18]፡ ሐዋርያት፡ እሙንቱ፡ በከመ፡ ንቤ፡ ቀዳሚ[19]። ₅ወመንኩ[T36vb]ራኵረ፡ ሠረገላት፡ ዘ[K12va]፬[20]፡

92[14] የማን፡ δ | [15] ጽብሐዊ፡ AK; ጽባሕ፡ δ. 93[1] ከመዝ፡ C; ወከመ፡ D | [2] om. C | [3] ዘተውህቦ፡ F; ዘተውህቦ፡ Q | [4] እም፡ δ; ጥበብ፡ QS | [5] ሰማያዊ፡ S | [6] ወኤደም፡ ሰልከ፡ (sic) F; ወኢይምሰል፡ T | [7] om. CD; እስክ፡ F | [8] om. β | [9] ሰማይ፡ S | [10] እምነ፡ add. C | [11] om. δ | [12] ማርያ፡ S | [13] ₐ₋ₐ እግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡አምላክ፡ A; ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ δ; እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪፡ C | [14] ወውእቱሰ፡ C; አላ፡ የዓቢ፡ እምተናገርነ፡ ወውእቱ፡ add. P | [15] om. T | [16] ከመ፡ FQ | [17] ተውህቦ፡ T | [18] om. C | [19] እምሰማይ፡ C. 94[1] ወትርጓሜሁ፡ δS | [2] ’ ፪ቱ፡ δ; ፪፡ ኪሩብ፡ λ | [3] በአምሳለ፡ P | [4] ፪ቲ፡ B; ፪ቱ፡ P; om. S | [5] ይቤ፡ S | [6] ፪ቱ፡ δ; ራዕ፡ ዮሐ. ፲፪፡፲፬ add. P | [7] ለበግዑ፡ C | [8] ዝውእቱ፡ C. 95[1] ቤት፡ δ; ቤቱኒ፡ S | [2] ዘተቀፈለ፡ δD; በዘተከፈለ፡ C | [3] om. δ; ’ ጽዮን፡ C | [4] ወ፪ኤ፡ δ | [5] መዓዙቲሃ፡ δC; ማዕፀቱሃ፡ F; አዕፀቲሃ፡ S | [6] om. βC; በአሐቲ፡ KT | [7] ለኖኅት፡ βC | [8] om. β | [9] ኦሪትኒ፡ C | [10] ወዕፀወ፡ δC | [11] ውስተ፡ add. λDS | [12] አንቀጸ፡ CD | [13] ወ፪ኤ፡ δ; ፪፡ F | [14] አልሕምት፡ ትኩላን፡ C; አዕማዕድ፡ (sic) D | [15] አርዕስቲሆሙ፡ S. 96[1] ባሕርኒ፡ F | [2] ገቦሃ፡ C; በገቦ፡ F | [3] ዘየማን፡ add. D | [4] ጽባሐዊ፡ δ | [5] om. δS | [6] ዘሰበካ፡ δ | [7] ወመ’ኒ፡ A; ወመግሪሃኒ፡ δ | [8] ዘይሴብሕዎ፡ ለጥምቀት፡ add. C | [9] ዘበቁለት፡ C; ዘበቀለት፡ S | [10] ቦ፡ አለ፡ C; አለ፡ S | [11] ሥርዓታ፡ C; ወሥርታ፡ (sic) S. 97[1] ወ፲ቱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ δ; ፲ወ፪፡ F | [2] om. C | [3] ባሕር፡ D | [4] ወ፲ቱ፡ ወ፪ቱ፡ δ | [5] ወአዜበ፡ C | [6] ባሕረ፡ C; ወጽባሐ፡ F | [7] ወጽባሐ፡ C | [8] ፫ቱ፡ δ | [9] ሚኮኖት፡ δS; ሜክኖትኒ፡ C; ሚኮሰት፡ F | [10] ድሩካን፡ δ; ድሩጋት፡ C; ድርጋን፡ S | [11] ማዕገተ፡ C; ማዕኮት፡ F; ማዕነቅ፡ S | [12] ፲ቱ፡ δ | [13] ቀላት፡ (sic) F | [14] om. δ | [15] ወማዕከሉሰ፡ δ; ወዘማዕከሉ፡ S | [16] om. C | [17] እሙንት፡ (sic) P | [18] ወአልሕምት፡ C | [19] ቀዳሚ፡ F; ንቀደሚ፡ (sic) S | [20] ዘ፬ቱ፡ δ; ፬፡ C; ዘአ፬፡ (sic) T

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መታክፍቲሆሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ፬[21]፡ መዓዝኒሃ[22]፡ በአምሳለ፡ ፬[23]፡ እንስሳ[24]፡ እ[D53rb]ለ[25]፡ ይጸውሩ፡ መንበሮ፡ ለአምላክ[26]። (98) ₁ወመስፈርትኒ[1]፡ ፲[2]፡ ዘሰሙ፡ ኪጥሮጋውሎስ[3]፡ ዘያገምር[4]፡ ፵፡ በመስፈርተ[5]፡ ኮኢስ፡ ዝውእቱ[6]፡ ኦሪት። ₂ወዘይቤለከ[7]፡ ፵፡ ኮኢስ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ትንቢቶሙ[8]፡ [C28r] ለነቢያት፡ እስከ[9]፡ ሄኖክ[10]። ₃ወከመዝ[11]፡ ውእቱ[12]፡ ሥርዓተ[13]፡ መቅደሱ[14]፡ ለሰሎሞን፡ በሥርዓተ፡ [A10vc] ፦ቅድስት፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን[15]፡ ይትፈጸም[16]። [P19]

(99) ₁ወከመዝ፡ ጸሐፍኩ፡ [F14rb] ለክሙ፡ በአምጣነ[1]፡ ክሂሎትየ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ፍቅረ[2]፡ ዚአሃ[3]፡ ለጽዮን[4]። [B18r] ₂ወባሕቱ፡ ፦ለእ[Q6rc]መ፡ ክህልኩ[5]፡ እም[T37ra]ተርጐምኩ[6]፡ ኮሎ፡ ሥርዓተ፡ መቅደሱ[7]፡ ለሰሎ[K12vb]ሞን[8]። ₃፦አ[D54va]ንሰ፡ ኢተምህርኩ፡ መጻሕፍተ[19]፡ በከመ[10]፡ ጳውሎስ፡ እምጎበ[11]፡ ገማልያል። ₄አንሰ፡ ኖላዌ[12]፡ አባግዕ[13]፡ ወአጣሌ[14]። ₅ወንዑስ፡ እምኮሎሙ፡ አኃው[15]። ₆ወምግባርየኒ[16]፡ ዘኃጢአት፡ ነዊኅ፡ ከመ፡ አርዘ፡ ሊባ[A11ra]ኖስ።

(100) ₁ንትመየጥኪ[1]፡ ጎበ[2]፡ [C28v] ዜና[3]፡ ነገር[4]፡ ዘጽኑሕ[5]፡ ለነ፡ በእንተ[6]፡ መቅደስ[7]፡ ዘሐነጸ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወልደ፡ ዳዊት[8]፡ እንዘ፡ ይረድኦ፡ ኪራም፡ ወልደ[9]፡ መበለት፡ እምነገደ[10]፡ ንፍ[S143rb]ታሌም[11]። [F14va] ₂ወአቡሁኒ፡ ነህቤ፡ ብርት[12]፡ ወኪንያ[13]፡ ፍጹም። ₃ወኪራምኒ፡ ፦ከመ፡ አቡሁ፡ ጠቢ(D53vb)ብ[14]። (101) ₁ወከመዝ[1]፡ ፈጸመ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ [T37rb] ሐኒጸ[2]፡ ቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምድኅረ፡ ፭[3]፡ ዓመት። ₂ወአስተጋብኦሙ፡ ለ[K13ra]ኮሎሙ[4]፡ ሊቃናተ[5]፡ እስራኤል[6]፡ ከመ፡ ያምጽእዋ፡ ለታቦት፡ እምሀገ[A11rb]ረ፡ ዳዊት፡ በወርኃ[7]፡ አትሚን[8]። ₃ወካህናት[9]፡ ጾርዋ፡ [C29r] ለታቦት[10]። ₄ወደብተራኒ[11]፡ [Q6va] ዘነበረት፡ ውስ[B18v]ቴታ[12]። ₅ወኮሎ[13]፡ ንዋየ፡ ግበሪሃ[14]፡ ለቅድስት[15]።

(102) ₁አብእዋ[1]፡ ካህናት፡ ውስተ፡ መካነ[2]፡ ንጉሥ[3]። ₂ወኮሎሙ[4]፡ ሠራዊቱ[5]፡ እለ[6]፡ ይተልውዋ[7]፡ ወየሐልዩ[8]፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ አተወ[F14vb]ት፡ ጽዮን፡ ውስተ፡ መካና። ₃ወአንበርዋ[9]፡ ው[D54ra]ስተ፡ ዳቤር[10]፡ በመትሕተ[11]፡ ክነፊሆሙ፡ ለኪሩብ[12]። ₄ወአልቦ፡

97[21] ፬ቱ፡ ፩ | [22] ማዕዝኒሃ፡ ፩D; መንገሌሃ፡ C; መዓዘኒሃ፡ F | [23] ፬ ፩ | [24] እሙንቱ፡ add. C | [25] እንዘ፡ D | [26] ለአምላክነ፡ CDS. 98[1] ወመስፈርተ፡ ብርት፡ C | [2] ፲ቱ፡ ፩; ፭፡ λ | [3] ኬጥሮጋውሎስ፡ T | [4] ዘያገምሮ፡ ፩ | [5] በመስፈርት፡ CD | [6] ዘውእቱ፡ Fβεξ | [7] ወዘእንበለከ፡ ፩ | [8] ትንቢት፡ F | [9] ወእስከ፡ Aελξ | [10] ኢሮስ፡ S | [11] ከመዝ፡ S | [12] om. β | [13] ሥርዓቱ፡ C | [14] om. C | [15] ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቅድስት፡ β | [16] ይትፈጸም፡ AC; ትትፈጸም፡ ፩; ጸ፡ s.l. F. 99[1] በከመ፡ C | [2] ፍቅራ፡ S | [3] ዚአየ፡ A, ለማርያም፡ S | [4] ጽዮን፡ S | [5] om. C | [6] ወእምተርጕምኩ፡ B; ወእመተርጕምኩ፡ (sic) P | [7] መቅደሰ፡ AB; መቅደሶ፡ C; መቅደስ፡ P | [8] ሰሎሞን፡ AB; ዘሰሎሞን፡ P | [9] om. C | [10] ከመ፡ S; 'ተምህረ፡ C | [11] ጎበ፡ S | [12] ኖላዊ፡ λξP | [13] om. C | [14] አጣሌ፡ C; ወአጣሊ፡ FSξ; ወአባሲ፡ P | [15] አኃውየ፡ አላ፡ በምሕረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ add. P | [16] ወበምግባርየሰ፡ C; ምግባርየኒ፡ P. 100[1] ንግባእኬ፡ β; ካዕበ፡ add. λ | [2] ካዕበ፡ በእንተ፡ C; om. F | [3] ዜናሃ፡ F | [4] ለነገር፡ F | [5] ዘጽኑ፡ P | [6] በቤተ፡ S | [7] መቅደሳ፡ C | [8] ንጉሥ፡ add. F | [9] om. C | [10] ዘእም' ፩ | [11] ብንያም፡ C | [12] ወርቅ፡ ፩ | [13] ወኪንያ፡ F | [14] ጠቢብ፡ ከመ፡ አቡሁ፡ CS. 101[1] ወእምዝ፡ C | [2] ሐነጸ፡ B | [3] ፭ራ፡ ፩ | [4] om. S | [5] ሊቃነ፡ F | [6] ፭ራኤል፡ B; ፭ኤል፡ S | [7] በሀገረ፡ F | [8] አታሚን፡ C | [9] ወካህናትኒ፡ C | [10] ለታቦተ፡ ሕግ፡ C | [11] ወለደብተራኒ፡ S | [12] ውስቴቱ፡ C; ዘውስቴታ፡ T | [13] ወዅሎን፡ C | [14] ግብራ፡ P | [15] ለቅድሳት፡ A; ዘቅድስት፡ CDT; ዘቅድሳት፡ KQ. 102[1] ወአብእዋ፡ ፩CS | [2] መካና፡ C | [3] ወንጉሥኒ፡ C | [4] ወኮሎ፡ D; ወኮሉ፡ ξFK | [5] ሠራዊት፡ C | [6] om. ፩; እንዘ፡ C | [7] ይተልውም፡ S | [8] ይሔልዩ፡ ፩ | [9] አንበርዋ፡ D | [10] ዳቢር፡ A | [11] በታሕተ፡ ፩; መትሕተ፡ λ | [12] ለኪሩቤል፡ ፩C; ኪሩቢ፡ S

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ውስተ፡ ከርሳ፡ ለታቦት፡ ዘእንበለ[13]፡ ፪[14]፡ ጽላት፡ ዘተመጠወ፡ ሙሴ፡ [T37va][A11rc] እምእደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በኮሬብ[15]። (103) ₁ወተከድነት፡ ቤት[1]፡ ስብሐተ[2]፡ እግዚአብሔር። [C29v] ₂ወተፈሥሐ፡[K13rb] ሰሎሞን፡ ንጉሥ[3]፡ [P20] ወይቤ፡ ይትባረክ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላከ፡ እስራኤል[4]። ₃ዮም[5]፡ ዘነበበ፡ በአፉሁ[6]፡ ወፈጸመ[7]፡ በእደዊሁ። ₄ወገብረ[8]፡ መሥዋዕተ[9]፡ ₐንጉሥኒ፡ ወኵሎሙ፡ እስራኤል[10]፡ ₐለእግዚአብሔር[11]። (104) ₁ወገብረ[1]፡ ሰሎሞን[2]፡ በዓለ[3]፡ በይ[S143va]እቲ፡ [F15ra] ዕለት፡ ወጠብሐ[4]፡ መቅድሐ[5]፡ ሕንጻሁ[6]፡ ዘጽዮን[7]፡ ፪፻፹፭፻፹፰[8]፡ አልሕምተ[9]፡ ወ[D54rb]፲፻[10]፡ አባግኣ፡ ለመቅድሐ[11]፡ ቤተ፡ [A11va] እግዚአብሔር [B19r]። (105) ₁ወገብ[Q6vb]ሩ፡ ኵሎሙ[1]፡ እስራኤል[2]፡ ₐበዓለ፡ ዓቢየ፡ ምስለ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ₐወማኅ[C30r]በር[3]፡ ሰቡአ[4]፡ መዋዕለ[5]፡ በትፍስሕ[T37vb]ት፡ ወበሐሴት። ₂ወአመ፡ ሰሙን[6]፡ ዕለት፡ አተዉ፡ ሕዝብ[7]፡ ውስተ፡ አብያቲሆሙ።

(106) ₁ወአስተርአዮ[1]፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለ[K13va]ሰሎሞን። ₂ወይቤሎ፡ ሰማዕኩ፡ ጸሎተከ[2]፡ ወስእለተከ[3]። ₃ወገበርኩ[4]፡ ለከ፡ ዘፈቀድከ። ₄ወቀደስክዎ፡ ለዝንቱ[5]፡ ቤት[6]፡ ዘሐነጽኮ[7]፡ በእዴከ። ₅ወየሃሉ፡ ስምየ፡ ውስቴታ[8]፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም። [F15rb] ‡...‡ ₆ₐወከማሁ፡ አ[9]፡ እግዚ[A11vb]አብሔር፡ ስማዕ[10]፡ ₐስእለትየ[11]። (107) ‡...‡[1] ₁ወአንተኒ፡ ለእመ፡ ሖ[D54va]ርከ፡ በሕግየ፡ በከመ፡ ሖረ፡ ዳዊት፡ አቡከ። ₂ወአቀውም[2]፡ መንግሥተከ[3]፡ ለዓለም[4]። [C30v] ₃ወለእመ፡ ኀደግሙ፡ ሕግየ፡ ዘወሀብኩዎ[5]፡ ለቀ፟ኍኤየ[6]። ₄ወገባእክሙ[7]፡ ውስተ፡ አማልክት። ₅ወሰገድክሙ[8]፡ ሎሙ[9]፡ [T38ra] እደመሰልክሙ፡ እምገጸ፡ ምድር። (108) ₁ወዘንተኒ[1]፡ ቤተ[2]፡ ዘተቀደሰ[3]፡ በስ[B19v]ምየ[4]፡ እደመስሶ[5]። ₂ወእገድፎ[6]፡ እምቅድመ፡ ገጽየ። ₃ወለጽ[Q6vb]ዮንሰ[7]፡ ቅድ[K13vb]ስት፡ ዘሐነጽክዋ፡ ፫በእ[A11vc]ዴየ፡ ወሣረርክዋ[8]፡ እሬስያ[9]፡ ማኅደረ፡ ስብሐትየ[10]፡ በመልዕልተ[11]፡ ሰማያት[12]። ₄ወይ[S143vb]ትወሀውሁ[13]፡ መላእ[F15va]ክት፡ በዓውዳ[14]፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ [D54vb] ፫ሃሌ፡

102[13] እንበለ፡ C | [14] ፪ኤ፡ δC | [15] በኩ' δ. 103[1] ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ δS | [2] በስብሐተ፡ S | [3] om. F | [4] ፳ኤል፡ S | [5] om. δ | [6] አፉሁ፡ AC | [7] ፈጸመ፡ C | [8] ወገብሩ፡ C | [9] መሥዋዕት፡ D | [10] ፳ኤል፡ S | [11] a-a ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ንጉሥኒ፡ ወኵሎሙ፡ እስራኤል፡ C. 104[1] ገብረ፡ AKξ | [2] ለእግዚአብሔር፡ add. S | [3] ዓቢይ፡' C; om. S | [4] ' ለእግዚአብሔር፡ C | [5] መቃድሐ፡ B; ወለመድቅሐ፡ C; ለመቃድሐ፡ P; መድቅሐ፡ Q | [6] ሕንጹሃ፡ δC | [7] ለጽዮን፡ δCS | [8] ፪፻፹፰፻፻፰፡ A; ፪፻፡ ፹፭፡ ፻፰፡ δ | [9] አልሕምት፡ C | [10] ፻፪፡ ፻፡ δ; ፲፻፪፡ C; ፲፻፡ DQ; ፲፻፪፡ F | [11] ለመድቅሐ፡ δCQ; ለምቅዳሐ፡ K. 105[1] ደቂቀ፡ add. β | [2] ፳ኤል፡ S | [3] a-a' ወማኅበረ፡ A; ምስለ፡ በዓለ፡ በዓቢይ፡ ማኅበር፡ C; ምስለ፡ ንጉሥ፡ በዓለ፡ ዓቢየ፡ ወማኅበረ፡ FSεξ | [4] ሰብአ፡ C | [5] ወመዋዕለ፡ B | [6] ሰቡዕ፡ A; ሳብእ፡ δ; ሰሙን፡ add. C | [7] om. β. 106[1] ወአስተርአዮሙ፡ C; ወአስተርአየ፡ K | [2] ጸሎትከ፡ AC | [3] ወስእለትከ፡ AC | [4] ወገበርከ፡ C | [5] ለውእቱ፡ S | [6] ቤተ፡ F | [7] ዘተሐንጸት፡ C | [8] በውስቴታ፡ δS; om. C | [9] አነ፡ S | [10] ሰማዕከ፡ δ; om. ε | [11] a-a om. C; ' ጸሎትየ፡ ወስእለተየ፡ F; ' እሰምዕ፡ ስእለተከ፡ S. 107[1] om. ACDST; ይቤ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ δ; ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡ F; ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ Q; ለኃጥእ፡ ገብርከ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡ s.l. K | [2] አቀውም፡ δS; ወአቀምዎ፡ D | [3] መንግሥትከ፡ B; መንግሥተ፡ S | [4] ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ BC | [5] ዘወሀብክዋ፡ ለሙሴ፡ C | [6] ቀ፟ኍኤየ፡ C | [7] ወአግባእክሙ፡ C | [8] ወሰገድሙ፡ (sic) D | [9] om. S. 108[1] ወዘንተ፡ β | [2] ዘይቤ፡ C | [3] ዘቀደሰ፡ A; ዘቀደስኩ፡ δC; ዘኢተቀደሰ፡ F; ዘቀደስክሙ፡ S | [4] ለስምየ፡ C | [5] አገድፎ፡ C; እደምስሶ፡ Fεξ | [6] om. CP | [7] ወለጽዮን፡ δ | [8] om. S | [9] እሬስይዋ፡ D | [10] ስብሐቲሁ፡ C | [11] በመልዕል፡ δ; መልዕልተ፡ F | [12] om. δ | [13] ወይትሀወሱ፡ S | [14] በዓውድ፡ S

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ሉያ[15]፡ በኵሉ፡ ፍናዊሃ[16]። (109) ₁ወከመዝ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ወሀቦ[1]፡ ማዕከተ[2]፡ ለሰሎሞን፡ ንጉ[C31r]ሥ፡ እግዚእ[3]፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ ማኅደረ፡ ስብሐቲሁ። [P21] ₂ወነበረት፡ ከመዝ፡ ጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕግ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ውስተ፡ ሕንጻሁ፡ ለሰሎሞን። (110) ₁ወሰሎሞንኒ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ፴[1]፡ ዓመ[A12ra]ተ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ሰከበ፡ በከመ[2]፡ [T38rb] አበዊሁ[3]። ₂ወተቀብረ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገረ[4]፡ ዳዊት፡ አቡሁ።

(111) ₁ወእምድኅረ፡ ብዙኅ፡ ዓመት[1]፡ አመ፡ ኮነ፡ ፬፬ወ፳[2]፡ ዓ[K14ra]መተ[3]፡ እምዘተሐንፀት፡ ሀገረ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት[4]፡ በመንግ[F15vb]ሥተ፡ ናቡከደነጾር[5]፡ ንጉሥ[6]፡ ዘባቢሎን፡ [D55ra] አለ[B20r]ዉ[7]፡ ሕዝብ[8]፡ ሕገ፡ እግዚአብሔር። ₂ወኮኑ[9]፡ እኩያነ[10]፡ በቅድሜሁ። ₃ወአምለኩ፡ ባዕዳነ[11]፡ [C31v] አማልክተ[12]። ₄ወለነቢያትሰ[13]፡ ኢሰምዑ፡ ቃ[Q7ra]ሎሙ። (112) ₁ወተምዐ[1]፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በእ[A12rb]ንተ[2]፡ ዝንቱ[3]፡ ላዕሌሆሙ[4]። ₂ወአዘዞ[5]፡ ለንጉሥ[6]፡ ባቢሎን[7]። ₃ወአመዝበርዎ[8]፡ ለሀገሮሙ[9]፡ ከለዳውያን[10]። ₄ወአንሐልዋ[11]፡ ለሕንጻ[12]፡ መቅደሱ[13]፡ ዘሰሎሞን[14]። ₅ወታቦተ[15]፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት[16]፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ተጎብአት፡ ወኢረከብዋ። [T38va] ₆ወጽላትኒ፡ ዘምስለ[17]፡ ፲[18]፡ ቃላት፡ በከርሣ።

(113) ₁ወተጼወወት[1]፡ ሀገር፡ ኵለንታሃ[2]። ₂ወንዋየ፡ ብርትኒ[3]፡ [F16ra] ዘቅድስት[4]፡ ተጼወ[K14rb]ዉ[5]። ₃ወነቢያትኒ[6]፡ ፬[7]፡ [S144ra] ኤርምያስ፡ ወሕዝ[D55rb]ቅኤል[8]፡ ወዳንኤል፡ ወእዝራ፡ [C32r] ተጼወዉ። [A12rc] ₄በከይዋ[9]፡ ወአስቆቀውዋ[10]፡ ለጽዮን።

(114) ₁ወይቤ፡ ፩[1]፡ እምነቢያት፡ ዝውእቱ፡ ዕዝራ[2]፡ ˹አመ፡ ፴[3]፡ ዓመት[3]፡ እምዘ፡ ወድቀት[4]፡ ሀገርነ[5]፡ እንዘ፡ ሀለውኩ[6]፡ ˹ውስተ፡ ሀገረ[7]፡ ባቢሎን[8]። [B20v] ₂ወጸእኩ[9]፡ ገዳመ[10]፡ ዘስሙ፡ አርፋድ[11]። ₃ወጾምኩ[12]፡ ሰቡዐ፡ መዋዕለ። ₄˹እክለ፡ ኢበላዕኩ[13]፡ ˹ወኢሰተይኩ፡ ወይነ[14]። ₅ወሥጋኒ[15]፡ ኢጥዕምኩ፡ ግሙራ[16]፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ፍሬ፡ ዕፅ፡ ባሕቲቱ[17]። (115) ₁ወጸለይ[Q7rb]ኩ፡ ኀበ፡ ልዑል። ₂ወእቤ[1]፡ እግዚኦ[2]፡ [A12va] እግዚእየ[3]፡ ዘ[T38vb]ሰማዕኮሙ[4]፡ ለአበዊነ[5]፡ በገዳም[6]፡ በምድረ[7]፡ [F16rb] በድው። ₃ወወሀብኮሙ፡ [P22]

108[15] om. C | [16] ለጽዮን፡ add. C. 109[1] om. C | [2] ˹ኮተ፡ DF | [3] om. CD; እግዚኦ፡ F; እግዚእነ፡ K. 110[1] ፴ዓ፡ ፀ | [2] ከመ፡ β; ምስለ፡ C | [3] አቡሁ፡ CD | [4] መቃብረ፡ F. 111[1] ዓመታት፡ C | [2] ፬ተ፡ ፻ተ፡ ወ፳ር፡ ፀ | [3] ዓመት፡ εBCS | [4] om. F | [5] ናቡ፡ ከደነ፡ ጻር፡ (sic) A; ናቡከደነ፡ ፆር፡ DF; ናቡክደነፆር፡ (sic) P | [6] om. ελξS | [7] ወዓለዉ፡ F; ዓለዉ፡ K; ሀለዉ፡ T | [8] om. S | [9] ወኮነ፡ S | [10] እኩያን፡ C | [11] በእደ፡ (sic) C; ባእደ፡ D | [12] አማልክት፡ C | [13]ወለነቢያትኒ፡ ፀC. 112[1] ወተምዕዐ፡ D | [2] om. ፀ | [3] ዘንተ፡ ፀ | [4] om. C | [5] ወአዘዘ፡ C; ወአዘዛ፡ D | [6] ንጉሥ፡ C; ለንጉሥ፡ S | [7] ሰሎሞን፡ C; om. S | [8] ያመዝብራ፡ S | [9] ለሀገራት፡ እስራኤል፡ ጽዮን፡ add. C | [10] ከለድዋ፡ (sic) Q | [11] አንሐልዋ፡ ε; ወአሐልዋ፡ (sic) S | [12] ለሕንጻሃ፡ C | [13] መቅደሶሙ፡ βεξ; ለመቅደሶሙ፡ C | [14] ለሰሎሞን፡ λS | [15] ወሰታቦትኒ፡ C | [16] om. C | [17] om. ፀ | [18] ፲ቱ፡ ፀ. 113[1] ወጼወወት፡ C | [2] ኵለንታሁ፡ A | [3] ወርቅኒ፡ ፀ | [4] ዘቅድሳት፡ S | [5] ተጼወወት፡ ሀገር፡ add. C; ተጼወወት፡ DS; ተጼወወ፡ FT | [6] ወለነቢያትኒ፡ FT | [7] ፬ቱ፡ ፀS; om. C | [8] ወሕዝቅያስ፡ F | [9] ወአሜሃ፡' C; ወበከይዋ፡ ፀ | [10] ወሰቈቀውዋ፡ C. 114[1] ፭ዱ፡ ፀ | [2] om. S | [3] ፴፡ አም፡ C; አመ፡ አመ፡' D; አመ፡ ፴፡' KPSξ | [4] ወደቀት፡ A | [5] ሀገር፡ DS | [6] ሀሎኩ፡ ፀS | [7] om. S | [8] በባቢሎን፡ S | [9] ወወጻእኩ፡ C | [10] ውስተ፡ ገዳም፡ Fፀ; ' ውስተ፡ ሀገረ፡ ባቢሎን፡ add. S | [11] አልፋድ፡ C| [12] በሀየ፡ C | [13] ኢበላዕኩ፡ እክለ፡ ፀ | [14] ወወይነ፡ ኢሰተይኩ፡ C | [15] ወሥጋ፡ C | [16] ለግሙራ፡ C | [17] ባሕቲታ፡ ፀ. 115[1] ወይቤ፡ AB | [2] om. D | [3] እግዚእ፡ A; እግዚኦ፡ ፀ | [4] ዘሰማዕኮሙ፡ (sic) D | [5] om. Q | [6] om. F | [7] ወበምድረ፡ C

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ሕገከ[8]። ₄ዘንተ[9]፡ ወዘይመስ[C32v]ሎ[10]፡ ጸለይኩ። [K14va] (116) ₁ወሶቤሃ[1]፡ ርኢኩ፡ [D55va] በአዕይንትየ፡ ብእሲተ[2]፡ እመንገለ፡ የማን፡ ትበኪ[3]፡ ወትላሁ[4]፡ ወትኬልሕ፡ በዓቢይ፡ ቃል[5]። ₂ᶜወሕምምት፡ ጥቀ[6]። ₃ወአልባሲሃ[7]፡ ስጡጥ[8]፡ ወሐመድኒ[9]፡ ዲበ፡ ርእሳ። ₄ወእቤላ[10]፡ ምንት[11]፡ ያበክየኪ[12]። ₅ወትቤለኒ[13]፡ ጎድገኒ፡ እብኪ[14]፡ ላዕለ[15]፡ ርዕስየ። ₆ወእቤላ፡ ᶜም[A12vb]ንተ፡ ኮንኪ፡ ንግርኒ[16]። ₇ወትቤለኒ[17]፡ መካን፡ አነ፡ እምትካት። ₈እንዘ፡ ሀሎኩ[18]፡ ምስለ፡ ብእሲ፡ ፬[19]፡ ዓመተ[20]፡ ᶜወእጼሊ፡ ኀበ፡ ልዑል[21]። ₉ᶜወእምድኅረ፡ ፬፡ ዓመት[22]፡ [S144rb] ሰምዓኒ[23]፡ እግዚእ[24]፡ ለአመቱ። [B21r] ₁₀ወርእየ፡ ሕማም[T39ra]የ። ₁₁ወወሀበኒ፡ ፭[25]፡ ወልደ፡ [C33r] ወተፈሣሕኩ፡ ቦቱ[26]። ₁₂ወሶበ፡ ልህ[D55vb]ቀ፡ አእተውኩ፡ ሎቱ፡ ብእሲተ[27]፤ [F16va] ወገ[K14vb]በርኩ፡ ከብካበ[28]። ₁₃ወሶበ፡ ቦአ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽርሑ፡ ወድቀ፡ ወሞተ። [A12vc]

(117) ₁ወበከይኩ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ወመጻእኩ[1]፡ [Q7rc] ባሕቲትየ፡ ውስተዝ[2]፡ ᶜመካን፡ ወገዳም[3]፡ ወኢይበልዕ፡ እክለ። ₂እላሁ[4]፡ በእንተ፡ ፭[5]፡ ወልድየ። ₃ወአውጣእክዋ፡ ወእቤላ፡ በአማን፡ ኮነ[6]፡ ኃዘንኪ፡ እስመ፡ ንሕነኒ[7]፡ ልሕዋን[8]፡ ወጎዙናን። ₄ወአንቲሰ[9]፡ ₐተኃዝኒ፡ በእንተ፡ ፭[10]፡ ₐወልድኪ[11]። ₅ተሰአሊያ፡ ለምድር፡ ወትነግረኪ[12]። ₆ወእቤላ፡ ኢትግበሪ[13]፡ ዘንተ። (118) [C33v] ₁ወኢትኔጽርያኑ[1]፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም[2]። ₂ተነሥተ[3]፡ መቅደስነ። ₃ወ[T39rb]ተሥዕረ፡ መዝ[A13ra]ሙርነ። ₄ወአርመመ[4]፡ ስብሐ[D56ra]ቲነ[5]። ₅ወወድቀ[6]፡ ትምህርትነ[7]። [F16vb] ₆ወጠፍአ፡ መኃትዊነ[8]። ₇ወተጼ[B21v]ወዉ፡ ካህናቲነ። ₈ወእምኵሉ፡ ዘ[K15ra]የዓቢ[9]፡ ተኃትመት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወጎለፈ[10]፡ ክብራ። ₉ወአንቲሰ፡ ᶜንግፊ፡ ላሃኪ[11]፡ በእንተ፡ ፭[12]፡ ወልድኪ። ₁₀ወዘንተ፡ እንዘ፡ እትናገራ[13]፡ በርሃ፡ ገጻ፡ ከመ[14]፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወከመ፡ ርእየተ፡ መብረቅ[15]። ₁₁ወፈራህኩ፡ ቀሪቦታ፡ ወደንገፀኒ፡ ል[S144va]ብየ[16]። [Pp. 23] (119) ₁ወሶበ፡ ርኢክዋ[1]፡ ኢኮነት፡ ብእሲተ[2]። ₂አላ፡ ከመ[3]፡ [C34r] ሀገር፡ ሕንጽት፡ መሠረ[A13rb]ታ[4]፡ ዓቢይ፡ ወስፍሕት[5]፡ ጥቀ። ₃ወጸ[Q7va]ራሕኩ[6]፡ ወእቤ፡ አይ[T39va]ቴ፡ ሀሎከ፡ ዑራኤል[7]፡

115[8] ሕገ፡ C | [9] ወዘንተ፡ CS | [10] ዘይመስሎ፡ C; om. S. 116[1] ወሶበ፡ ፅ; እወሶቤሃ፡ (sic) S | [2] ብእሲት፡ B | [3] ወትበኪ፡ ፅ | [4] om. C | [5] om. P | [6] om. F; ወሕምም፡ (sic) ’ S | [7] ወአልባሲሃኒ፡ ፅC | [8] om. C; ስጡፅ፡ D; ስጡጣት፡ F | [9] ወሐመድ፡ ፅFS; ሐመድ፡ C | [10] ወእቤ፡ βK; ወሶበ፡ እቤላ፡ C | [11] ለምንት፡ C | [12] ትበክይ፡ C | [13] ወትቤ፡ FS | [14] እበኪ፡ S | [15] ዲበ፡ S | [16] ንግርኒ፡ ምንተ፡ ኮንኪ፡ C; ዘኮንኪ፡ ንግርኒ፡ F | [17] ወትለኒ፡ (sic) S | [18] ሀለውኩ፡ Fεξ | [19] ፬፡ CPSξ | [20] ነበርኩ፡ add. C | [21] om. F; እጼሊ፡ ’ P | [22] om. F; ’ ፬፡’ KPSξ | [23] ሰምዓ፡ C | [24] እግዚአብሔር፡ ፅC; om. S | [25] om. ፅ | [26] om. ፅ | [27] ’ቱ፡ F | [28] ክብኒባ፡ (sic) A. 117[1] ወወጻእኩ፡ ፅ | [2] ውስተዛ፡ C | [3] መካን፡ ገዳም፡ ADξ; ገዳም፡ C; መካን፡ ዘገዳም፡ F; መካነ፡ ገዳም፡ K; ገዳመ፡ S | [4] እንዘ፡ ሀሎኩ፡ C; ወእላሁ፡ FS | [5] ፭ዱ፡ ፅ; om. C; ዋሕድ፡ S | [6] om. D | [7] ንሕነ፡ ዅልነ፡ add. C | [8] ሕልዋን፡ D | [9] ወእንቲኒ፡ S | [10] ፭ዱ፡ ፅ; om. F | [11] a-a በእንተ፡ ፭፡ ወልድ፡ ተኃዝኒ፡ C | [12] እስኩ፡ ለምድር፡ ወኢትንግርኪ add. C | [13] ኢትግበሪ፡ add. B. 118[1] ኢትሬኢዩኒ፡ C | [2] እስመ፡ ኮነት፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ add. C | [3] ተነሥተት፡ (sic) C; ከመ፡ ተነስተ፡ FS | [4] አርመመ፡ S | [5] ስብሐቲሁ፡ D; ስብሐቲሁነ፡ (sic) F | [6] ወወድቀት፡ F | [7] ምክህነ፡ λS | [8] ማኅተዊነ፡ ፅ; ማኅቶትነ፡ S | [9] ዘተዓቢ፡ P | [10] ወጎለፈት፡ Fεξ | [11] ንግሪ፡ ላህየኪ፡ A | [12] ፭ዱ፡ ፅ | [13] ይትናገራ፡ AD; ይትናገራ፡ ግብተ፡ C | [14] እም፡ S | [15] ርግብ፡ ዘመብረቅ፡ ኮነ፡ ርእየታ፡ add. C | [16] ልየ፡ (sic) D. 119[1] ርእክዋ፡ D | [2] ብእሲት፡ Aፅ | [3] om. ፅ | [4] ወመሠረታ፡ ፅF; መሠረታቲሃ፡ C | [5] ወሰፍሐት፡ S | [6] ወጸራሕ፡ ሶቤሃ፡ C | [7] ኡሩኤል፡ C; ኡርኤል፡ F

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መልእክ፡ $_{a}$ዘመ[F17^{ra}]ጻእከ፡ ⸢ኀቢየ፡ ቀዲሙ^{8}። $_{4}$ወበጊዜሃ፡ መጽአ፡ ኀቢየ^{9}፡ እንዘ^{10}፡ እሰክብ^{11}፡ ከመ፡ $_{a}$በድ[D56^{rb}]ን^{12}። $_{5}$ወአኃዘኒ፡ በየማኑ^{13}፡ ወአንሥአኒ^{14}፤ ⸢ወአቀመኒ፡ ርቱዓ። $_{6}$ወይቤለኒ^{15}፡ በእንተ፡ ምንት፡ ⸢ደንገጽከ። $_{7}$ወለምንት^{16}፡ ተከዘ^{17}፡ [K15^{rb}] ልብከ።

(120) $_{1}$ወእቤሎ፡ ፈራህኩ፡ ሶበ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ዘንተ። $_{2}$ወባሕቱ፡ ዮጊ፡ ንግሮ፡ ለገብርከ^{1}። $_{3}$ወፍካሬሁ^{2}፡ ለዝንቱ^{3}፤ ⸢ወይቤለኒ፡ ስምዓኒ፡ እንግርከ^{4}፡ [B22^{r}][A13^{rc}] ⸢እስመ፡ ከሠተ^{5}፡ ለከ፡ ልዑል፡ ሶበ፡ ርእየ፡ ጽድቀከ^{6}፡ [C34^{v}] እስመ፡ ብዙኃ^{7}፡ ተጋዝን^{8}፡ በእንተ^{9}፡ ጽዮን^{10}። $_{4b}$ወዝንቱ^{11}፡ ውእቱ^{12}፡ $_{b}$ነገሩ^{13}። $_{5}$ዛቲ^{14}፡ ብእሲት፡ ዘርኢከ^{15}፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ሀገ[F17^{rb}]ረ፡ ሕንጽተ^{16}፡ ጽዮን፡ ይእቲ፡ እንተ^{17}፡ በየማነ^{18}፡ ል[T39^{vb}]ዑል፡ ወትነብር፡ ለዓለም። (121) $_{1}$ወዘኒ^{1}፡ ዘትቤለከ^{2}፡ መካነ፡ ኮንኩ፡ ፭^{3}፡ ዓመተ፡ ነበ [D56^{va}]ረት^{4}፡ ዓለም^{5}፡ እንዘ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘያበውእ፡ ቍርባነ። $_{2}$ወእምድኅረ፡ ፭፤^{6}፡ ዓመት^{7}፡ ሐነጸ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ መቅደሰ^{8}። $_{3}$⸢ወቀደሰ፡ ወቦአ^{9}፡ ወአብአ፡ ቍ[A13^{va}]ርባነ^{10}፡ ውእቱ፡ ⸢ዘወለደቶ፡ ወልዳ^{11}። $_{4}$ወዘንተኒ^{12}፡ ዘት[Q7^{vb}]ቤለከ^{13}፡ [K15^{va}] አመ^{14}፡ ቦአ^{15}፡ ውስተ፡ [S144^{vb}] ጽርሑ፡ ወድቀ፡ ወሞተ። $_{5}$ወረከበኒ፡ ኃዘን፡ [C35^{r}] ድቀታ^{16}፡ ለኢየሩሳሌም፡ ውእቱ። (122) $_{1}$ወዘንተ^{1}፡ ዘአርአየከ^{2}፡ በእንተ፡ ኃዘንከ፡ ⸢ወሕማመ፡ ልብከ፡ በእንተ^{3}፡ ጽዮን። $_{2}$ዘ[F17^{va}]አርአየከ^{4}፡ ብርሃነ፡ ስብሐቲሃ፡ ወሥነ^{5}፡ ተድላሃ^{6}። $_{3}$ወእንተሰ፡ ኢትፍራህ፡ ወኢ[B22^{v}]ትደንግፅ^{7}። $_{4}$ነጽር፡ [D56^{vb}] ብርሃና፡ ወጽንዓ^{8}፡ ጽድቃ^{9}። [T40^{ra}] $_{5}$ወአምጣነ^{10}፡ ትክል፡ ሰሚዓ፡ ስማዕ^{11}፡ በእዝንከ^{12}፡ ማኅልያቲሃ^{13}፡ እስመ^{14}፡ ኃዘንከ^{15}፡ ⸢ብዙኅ፡ በ[A13^{vb}]እንቲአሃ^{16}። (123) $_{1}$⸢ወይቤለኒ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ^{1}፡ ዑራኤል^{2}፡ ተፈጣህኩ^{3}፡ ወተሐሠይኩ፡ በእንተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘሀለወት፡ ሕንጽተ^{4}፡ በየማነ፡ እዴሁ፡ ለልዑል^{5}፡ ይቤ^{6}፡ ዕዝራ^{7}። [P24]

119^{8} ቀዲሙ፡ ኀቢየ፡ S | ^{9} om. T | ^{10} om. AQ | ^{11} እሰብክ፡ (sic) ðS | ^{12} $_{a-a}$ ኀቢየ፡ እንዘ፡ እሰብክ፡ (sic) ከመ፡ በድን፡ ቀዲሙ፡ ወበጊዜሃ፡ መጽአ፡ ኀቢየ፡ B; ኀቢየ፡ እንዘ፡ እሰብክ፡ (sic) ወኮንኩ፡ ከመ፡ በድን፡ ደንጊጽየ፡ ወወደቁ፡ ወበጊዜሃ፡ መጽአ፡ ኀቢየ፡ P | ^{13} የማንየ፡ C | ^{14} አንሥአኒ፡ C | ^{15} om. ð | ^{16} om. C | ^{17} ደንገፀ፡ ð. 120^{1} ወይቤለኒ፡ መልእክ፡ add. ð | ^{2} ፍካሬሁ፡ ðλ | ^{3} om. F | ^{4} ስምዓኒ፡ እንግርከ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡ A; ስምዓኒ፡ እንግርከ፡ ወይቤለኒ፡ መልእክ፡ ð; ወይቤለኒ፡ ስምዓኒ፡ F | ^{5} om. ð; ’ ከሠቶ፡ εξ | ^{6} ሥነ፡ ጽድቅከ፡ C | ^{7} ብዙኃን፡ βεξFS | ^{8} om. βξFS; ፈተዉ፡ እለ፡ ደክሙ፡ ε | ^{9} በእንተዝ፡ βξF | ^{10} om. βεξFS | ^{11} እለ፡ ደክሙ፡ ’ add. ð | ^{12} om. C | ^{13} $_{a-a}$ ወዝንቱ፡ C; ’ ነገሩ፡ F; ዝንቱ፡ ነገሩ፡ ውእቱ፡ S | ^{14} ለዛቲ፡ F; ’ ይእቲ፡ add. S | ^{15} om. AQ; እንተ፡ ርኢከ፡ C | ^{16} ዘተሐንጸት፡ C; ሕንጽት፡ KQ | ^{17} om. C | ^{18} በየማና፡ ðS. 121^{1} ወዘኒ፡ C | ^{2} ትቤለከ፡ ð; ዘትብለከ፡ F | ^{3} ፭፡ ዓመተ፡ ወእስከ፡ ፵፪፡ ዓመተ፡ add. C; ፵፡ KQ; ፴፪፡ S | ^{4} ነበረ፡ C | ^{5} ዓለመ፡ B | ^{6} ፵፪፡ KSξ | ^{7} ዓመተ፡ ACKξ | ^{8} መቅደስ፡ B; መቅደሰ፡ C | ^{9} ወቀደሳ፡ ’ β; om. CS | ^{10} መቅደሰ፡ S | ^{11} ’ ወልድ፡ C; ወልዳ፡ ዘወለደቶ፡ S | ^{12} ወዝንቱኒ፡ C; ወዘንተ፡ F | ^{13} ዘትቤለኒ፡ S | ^{14} ከመ፡ S | ^{15} ወልድየ፡ ð | ^{16} ድቃታ፡ (sic) CS; ድቀት፡ D; በእንተ፡ ’ F. 122^{1} om. DS | ^{2} ዘርእየከ፡ A; ዘርኢከ፡ B; እንዘ፡ ትሬኢ፡ P | ^{3} om. C | ^{4} ዘርእየከ፡ A; ኢርኢከ፡ C; ዘአርአየከ፡ P; ብርሃነ፡ (sic) S | ^{5} om. F | ^{6} ወተድላሃ፡ F | ^{7} ወኢተደንግፅ፡ (sic) P; ወኢደንግፅ፡ S | ^{8} በጽንዓ፡ β | ^{9} ንድቃ፡ C | ^{10} አምጣነ፡ D | ^{11} ሰሚዕ፡ S | ^{12} ለእዝንከ፡ C | ^{13} መኃልያቲሃ፡ ðFS; ማኅልያሃ፡ C | ^{14} እመ፡ S | ^{15} አንተ፡’ C | ^{16} በእንቲአሃ፡ ብዙኃ፡ C. 123^{1} ወሶበ፡ ይቤለኒ፡ ðC | ^{2} ኡሩኤል፡ C; ኡርኤል፡ S | ^{3} መልእክ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡’ add. ð; መልእክ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡’ add. C; መልእክ፡’ add. S | ^{4} ሕንጽት፡ ðC | ^{5} በልዑል፡ F; ልዑል፡ S | ^{6} ኀበ፡ B; ይብል፡ P | ^{7} ዘተሰምየ፡ ሱቱኤል፡ add. C.

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(124) ₁ወከመ[C35ᵛ]ዝ¹፡ ውእቱ²፡ ህላዌሃ³፡ ወግብ[K15ᵛᵇ]ረታኒ⁴፡ በእርአያ፡ ሰማይ። ₂መሠረታቲሃኒ⁵፡ በዕንቄ፡ ሰንፔር፡ ወበከርከዲን፡ ወበአጵርግ[F17ᵛᵇ]ዮን⁶፡ ወበሶፎር፡ ግብርት⁷፡ መራህብቲሃ⁸፡ ዘቢረሌ⁹። ₃ወይሴብሑ፡ መላእ[D57ʳᵃ]ክት¹⁰፡ ፦ወሊቃነ፡ መላእክት¹¹፡ በዓውዳ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ ፦ሃሌ፡ ሉያ¹²፡ ስብሐት፡ [T40ʳᵇ] ለእግዚአብሔር¹³፡ ዘአል[Q7ᵛᶜ]አላ፡ ለጽ[A13ᵛᶜ]ዮን፡ እምኵሉ፡ ዓለማት።

(125) ₁ወአነሂ፡ እብል፡ ከማሆሙ፡ ሃሌ፡ ሉያ፡ ስብሐት¹፡ ለማኅደረ፡ በግዑ፡ ንጽሕት²። ₂ሃሌ፡ ሉያ፡ [S145ʳᵃ] ፦ለጽዮን፡ እምነ³፡ ሥርጉት፡ በስብሐት። [B23ʳ] ₃ሃሌ፡ ሉያ፡ ለዘኢትፈቅድ⁴፡ ፀሐየ⁵፡ ለአብርሆታ⁶። ₄ወብርሃነ፡ በግዑ፡ ያዋ[C36ʳ]ኪ⁷፡ ውስቴታ⁸።

(126) ₁ወይእዜኒ፡ ፦አበውየ፡ [ወ]አኃውየ¹፡ ንትጋባዕ፡ ከመ፡ ናልዕ[F18ʳᵃ]ል²፡ በዓለ፡ መ[K16ʳᵃ]ንፈሳዊተ፡ በዕጣን፡ ወበቀዳባን³፡ በአስተርክቦ⁴፡ ስብሐት፡ ለእግዝእትነ⁵፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ [A14ʳᵃ] አትሮ[D57ʳᵇ]ንሰ፡ መለኮት። ₂ደብተራሁ⁶፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ዘገብረ፡ ሰማየ⁷፡ ወምድረ፡ ፦ፀሐየ፡ ወወርኃ⁸፡ ወከዋክ [T40ᵛᵃ]ብተ፡ ዘፈተዋ፡ እምኵሉ።

(127) ₁ወይቤ፡ ዝየ፡ አኃድር፡ እስመ፡ ኃረይክዋ፡ ወሣረርክዋ። ₂ንዑ፡ ንሕሊ¹፡ ወንዘምር²፡ ለንግሥተ³፡ ንግሥ[C36ᵛ]ታት⁴፡ ዘአ‡...‡ን⁵፡ እንተ፡ ኮነት፡ ምክሀ፡ ለኵሉ፡ ዓለም⁶፡ ፦እንተ፡ በኵሉ፡ ዓለም⁷። ₃እንተ⁸፡ በላዕሌሃ⁹፡ ተሰብሐ¹⁰፡ ወልድ፡ ዋሕድ፡ ዘስውር፡ [F18ʳᵇ] እ[Q8ʳᵃ]ምሰብእ፡ ወእመላእክት። ₄ንዑ፡ ንትፈሣሕ፡ ወን[A14ʳᵇ]ትኃሠይ¹¹፡ ወንዘምር፡ በበዓለ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም¹²። ₅ታቦተ፡ ሕግ¹³፡ ዘበአ[D57ᵛᵃ]ማን፡ ዘሀለዉ¹⁴፡ [K16ʳᵇ]በከርሣ¹⁵፡ ፲¹⁶፡ ቃ[B23ᵛ]ላት፡ ዘተጽሕፋ¹⁷፡ በ፪¹⁸፡ ጽላት¹⁹፡ በአጻብዒሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ጸባዖት።

(128) ₁ንዑ፡ ንትጋባዕ፡ ውስተ፡ መርህባ፡ ወንሰብሕ፡ ምስለ፡ ሕዝባ፡ ወንበል፡ ተፈሣሕኩ፡ እስመ፡ [T40ᵛᵇ] ይ[C37ʳ]ቤሉኒ፡ [S145ʳᵇ] ቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ነሐውር። ₂ወቆማ¹፡ እገሪነ²፡ ውስተ፡ አዕፃድኪ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም። [P25] ₃ኢየሩሳሌምሰ³፡ ሕንጽት፡ ከመ፡ ሀ[A14ʳᶜ]ገር። ₄እስመ⁴፡ ይእቲ፡ ርስቶሙ⁵፡ ለቅዱሳን። [F18ᵛᵃ] ₅፦ሀገር፡ ሐዳስ⁶፡ ዘይሴፈውዋ፡ ለምጽአታ⁷፡ ቅዱሳን⁸፡ እለ፡ አንጽሑ፡ ነፍሶሙ⁹፡ ዘትነግሥ፡ [D57ᵛᵇ]

124¹ ወከመ፡ ፀ | ² om. ፀF | ³ ህላዌሁ፡ S | ⁴ ወግብረታ፡ ፀC; ወግብረታቲሃኒ፡ D | ⁵ om. C; ወመሠረታቲሃ፡ F; ወመሠረታኒ፡ S; ወመሠታቲሃኒ፡ (sic) T | ⁶ ወበአርግዮን፡ A; ወበአጵሮግዮን፡ ፀDS | ⁷ ግብረተ፡ A; ግብረታ፡ ፀ; ግብር፡ ግብርት፡ F | ⁸ ወመርህየኒ፡ C | ⁹ ዘብረሌ፡ ፀ; ዘብሬሌ፡ D | ¹⁰ om. β | ¹¹ om. βDF | ¹² om. D| ¹³ በሰ፡ (sic) add. S. 125¹ om. C; ለእግዚአብሔር፡ add. F | ² ሕንጽት፡ FKST | ³ ለእምነ፡ ጽዮን፡ C; ጽዮን፡' S | ⁴ በዘኢትፈቅድ፡ C; ዘኢትፈቅድ፡ FS | ⁵ ፀሐይ፡ F | ⁶ ወወርኃ፡ add. C; ለአብርሆ፡ F | ⁷ ዘያዋኪ፡ C; ያወኪ፡ D | ⁸ በውስቴታ፡ ፀC. 126¹ 'ዊየ፡ አሐውየ፡ A | ² ናብዕል፡ ፀD | ³ ወቍርባን፡ CS | ⁴ በአስተብርኮ፡ ፀ; ወበአስተርክቦ፡ C | ⁵ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ add. C; ማርያም፡ add. F | ⁶ ወደብተራሁ፡ S | ⁷ ሰማያተ፡ C | ⁸ ወወርኃ፡ ፀሐየ፡ F. 127¹ ነሐሊ፡ ፀ; ንሔሊ፡ C; ንሐሊ፡ F | ² ወንዜምር፡ ፀF | ³ ለመንግሥተ፡ F | ⁴ ነገሥታት፡ ፀ | ⁵ ዘአንስቲያሆን፡ ABDSξ; ዘአንስት፡ ቲኦሳን፡ C; ዘአንስተ፡ ቲያሶን፡ F; ዘአንስቲአሆን፡ K; om. P | ⁶ ዓለማት፡ C | ⁷ om. ፀC; እንተ፡ በኵሉ፡ S | ⁸ om. CS | ⁹ om. S | ¹⁰ ተመርዓወ፡ ቃል፡ C; ይሴባሕ፡ S | ¹¹ ባቲ፡ add. β | ¹² ድንግል፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጽዮን፡ add. C; ጽዮን፡ S | ¹³ ሕግኑ፡ C | ¹⁴ ዘሀለወ፡ AFKξ; ሀለወ፡ CS | ¹⁵ በውስቴታ፡ ፀ | ¹⁶ ፲ቱ፡ ፀC | ¹⁷ ዘተጽሕፈ፡ AFεξ; ዘተጽሕፉ፡ ፀ | ¹⁸ በ፪ኤ፡ ፀQ; om. C; በበ፪፡ D | ¹⁹ om. ፀC. 128¹ ወቆማነ፡ C | ² om. C | ³ om. C | ⁴ እንተ፡ C | ⁵ ርእየቶሙ፡ C | ⁶ ሐዳስ፡ ሀገር፡ S | ⁷ ለምጽአት፡ B | ⁸ ልዑላን፡ add. C | ⁹ አልባሲሆሙ፡ C

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ሎሙ[10]፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም። (129) ₁ₐወከማሁ፡ ኦ[1]፡ ጽዮን፡ ንግሢ[2]፡ ₐላዕለ[3]፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ቅድስት፡ እንተ፡ በላዕሉ፡ አግዐዚት። ₂መርዐተ፡ በግዑ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘይጸንሕዎ[4]፡ [K16va] መሐይምናን[5]፡ [Q8rb] ዘውእቶሙ፡ ₆ᵦሰማዕታት[6]፡ ₆ᵦወጻድቃን[7]፡ ነቢያት፡ ወሐዋርያት፡ ₆ᶜቀ[C37v]ሳውስት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ እድ፡ ₆ᶜወአንስት[8]፡ ወኵሎሙ[9]፡ [A14va] ሕጻናት[10]፡ እለ፡ አሥመርዎ፡ ለልዑል፡ በጻማ[11]፡ ገ[T41ra]ድሎ[B24r]ሙ[12]።

(130) ₁ወለነኒ፡ ይክፍለነ[1]፡ ኪያሃ[2]፡ ምስ[F18vb]ሌሆሙ፡ አመ፡ ትነግሥ፡ ጽዮን፡ አርያማዊት፡ መቅደስ። ₂ንትፈሣሕ[3]፡ በከብካብ[4]፡ ሐዳስ[5]፡ ለዓለ[D58ra]መ፡ ዓለም። ₃ᵈወከማሁ፡ አስተፍሥሒዮ[6]፡ ለገብርኪ[7]፡ ‡PN‡[8] ለዓለመ፡ ₆ᵈዓለም[9]፡ አሜን[10]። (131) ₁ወካዕበ፡ ስምዑኒ[1]፡ እንግርክሙ[2]፡ ዘይቤ፡ ነቢይ፡ በእንተ፡ ዜናሃ፡ ለጽዮን[3]፡ ሰማያዊት። ₂በካልእ፡ ወርኅ[4]፡ [S145va] ዓመተ[5]፡ መንግሥቱ፡ ለዳ[A14vb]ርዮስ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ኮነ፡ [K16vb]ቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ኀቤየ። ₃ᶠበሳምን፡ ወርኅ[6]፡ መጽአ[7]፡ ኀቤየ[8]፡ መልአክ። ₄ወአንሥአኒ[9]፡ ከ[C38r]መዝ፡ እምንዋም[10]። ₅ወርኢኩ፡ ተቅዋመ[11]፡ ማ[F19ra]ኅቶት[12]፡ ፯[13]፡ መ[T41rb]ንኰትዊሃ[14]፡ ወ፯[15]፡ መሳውራሃ፡ በዘይሴፈው[Q8rc]ዋ[16]። ₆ወ፪[17]፡ ዘይት፡ ᶠበየማና፡ ወበፀጋማ[18]። (132) ₁ወዘንተ፡ ርኢኩ፡ ዘይቤ፡ ዘካርያስ፡ ነቢይ፡ በሳምን፡ ወርኅ፡ በአምሳሊሃ[1]፡ ᶠለጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ [D58rb] እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ እግዝእትነ[2]፡ ᶠማርያም፡ ድንግል[3]፡ [P26] በ፪[4]። ₂ወፍካሬሁ[A14vc]ሰ[5]፡ ከመዝ፡ ውእቱ፤ ተቅዋመ[6]፡ ማኅቶት[7]፡ ዘወርቅ[8]፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም[9]፡ ይእቲ፡ ጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕግ[10]፡ ዘኪዳን[11]፡ [B24v] እለ፡ ተጋባእነ፡ ዮም፡ በበዓለ፡ ዚአሃ።

(133) ₁ወመኃ[C38v]ትዊሃኒ[1]፡ [K17ra] ፯[2]፡ አብያተ[3]፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ ₐእማንቱ፡ እለ[4]፡ ተሐንጻ፡ በአምሳለ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ዘላዕሉ። ₂ወመ[T41va]ሣው[F19rb]ሪሃ[5]፡ ፯፡ ሥዩማን[6]፡ ዘቤተ[7]፡ ₐክርስቲያን[8]። ₃ወ፪[9]፡ አዕጹቀ[10]፡ ዘይት፡ እሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ደቂቀ[11]፡ ጽላት[12]።

128[10] om. βS. 129[1] om. DF | [2] ትንግሥ፡ F; ንገሢ፡ S | [3] a-a om. C | [4] ዘይጸንሕዎ፡ C | [5] om. C | [6] ሰማዕት፡ F | [7] b-b ጻድቃን፡ ወሰማዕታት፡ C | [8] c-c ዲያቆናት፡ ወቀሳውስት፡’ β; እድ፡ ወአንስት፡ ዲያቆናት፡ ወቀሳውስት፡ C | [9] om. CQ | [10] ወሕጻናት፡ C; om. Q | [11] om. S | [12] ገድል፡ P; በገድሎሙ፡ S. 130[1] ይ- s.l. F | [2] om. C | [3] ከመ፡ ተፈሣሕ፡ C; om. S | [4] በከብ(sic) S | [5] ሐዲስ፡ β; ወፈድፋደሰ፡ ለኃጥኣ፡ ወለጊጉይ፡ ጽኑስ፡ add. C; ንትፈሣሕ፡ add. S | [6] አስተፍሥሒያ፡ Q | [7] ለነፍሰ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ገብርኪ፡ Q; ለኃጥኣ፡ ገብርኪ፡ S; ለአመትኪ፡ T | [8] ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ (ወምስለ፡ አመታ፡ ወለተ፡ ጻድቅ፡ s.l.) A; ኅጥእ፡ ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ K; ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ Q; ሀብለ ... ወምስለ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ S; አዋልደ፡ ንግሥት፡ T | [9] d-d om. δCD | [10] om. βCDS. 131[1] ስምዑ፡ C | [2] እነግረክሙ፡ C | [3] om. C | [4] om. C | [5] እም፡ ዓመተ፡ δ; ዓሞተ፡ (sic) D; በዓመተ፡ S | [6] ወሳምን፡ A; ወበሳምን፡ ወርኅ፡ B | [7] ወመጽአ፡ ASεξ | [8] om. D | [9] አንሥአኒ፡ C | [10] እምንዋምየ፡ S | [11] ተቋመ፡ A | [12] ዘወርቅ፡ add. C | [13] ፯ቱ፡ δF; ዘ፯፡ C; ፯፡ D | [14] ማኅተቂሃ፡ δλ; መሃትዊትሃ፡ (sic) S | [15] ወ፯ቱ፡ δF; ወ፯፡ D | [16] በዘይሴወር፡ (s.l.), but originally በዘይሴፈውዋ፡ B; በዘይሴወርዋ፡ C; በዘይሴውዋ፡ (sic) F; በዘይሴወሩ፡ P | [17] ወ፪ቱ፡ δ | [18] በፀጋማ፡ ወበየማና፡ C. 132[1] ወአምሳሊሃ፡ δ | [2] om. S | [3] om. F; ለማርያም፡’ S | [4] om. β | [5] ወበፍካሬሁሰ፡ A; ወፍካሬሁኒ፡ C | [6] ተቋመ፡ A | [7] om. C | [8] om. S | [9] ጽዮን፡ C | [10] ’ ዘበአማን፡ C | [11] ’ ታቦት፡ C. 133[1] ማኅትዊሃኒ፡ δ; ወማኅተዊሃኒ፡ C | [2] ፯ቱ፡ δ | [3] አብያት፡ D | [4] om. F | [5] መሣውሪሃ፡ F | [6] ሥዩማነ፡ C | [7] ቤተ፡ C | [8] a-a om. β (an *homoioteleuton* from አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት፡ to ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡) | [9] ወ፪ቱ፡ δ | [10] አዕጹቂሃ፡ C | [11] ደቀ፡ D; ደቂቃ፡ (sic) P | [12] ጠላት፡ (sic) C |

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ወኵሎሙ[13]፡ ነቢያት[14]፡ ወደስዋ[15]፡ ወአስተብፅዕዋ[16]፡ ለጽ[D58va]ዮን፡ ሐመረ[17]፡ ወርቅ[18]። ወአነሂ፡ እቤ፡ ዘእንበለ[19]፡ ሕሳዌ። ሶበ፡ እሄሊ፡ በልብየ፡ ወእወድሳ[20]፡ ያድለቀልቅ[21]፡ በው[A15ra]ስተ[22]፡ [C39r] ጕርኤየ[23]፡ ከመ፡ ጽሕርት[24]። ወይውኢ[25]፡ አባላትየ[26]። (134) ወለእመ[1]፡ ረከብኩ፡ ⌜ክርታሰ፡ ወቀለመ[2]፡ በኵ[Q8va]ሎን[3]፡ መዋዕልየ[4]፡ እስከ[5]፡ [S145vb] እሰክብ፡ ከመ፡ አበውየ፡ እንዘ፡ እጽሕፍ፡ እም[6]፡ ኢክህልኩ፡ ፈጽሞ፡ ውዳሴሃ፡ ለንግሥተ፡ ሰማያ[K17rb]ት[7]፡ ወምድር፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ [F19va] ⌜እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ እምነ[8]። (135) ወባሕቱ፡ ዘንተ[1]፡ ንስቲተ[2]፡ ጸሐ[T41vb]ፍኩ፡ ⌜ለክሙ፡ በከመ፡ ክህልኩ[3]፡ ከመ፡ ትስምእዎ[4]፡ ወ[D58vb]ትትናዘዙ[5]፡ ቦቱ፡ ⌜በበዓላ፡ ለእግዝእትነ[6]፡ ቅ[A15rb]ድ[B25r]ስት[7]፡ ድንግል[8]፡ በ፪[9]፡ ⸢ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ጽዮን[10]። [C39v]

(136) ⸢ተፈጸመ፡ ዝንቱ[1]፡ ድርሳን፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ በወርኃ፡ ካዕን፡ አመ፡ ፭ወ፩፡ ለወርኃ፡ ጎዳር፡ በሰላመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ አሜን። ወበረድኤተ፡ ወልድ፡ አሜን። ወበሥምረተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጸራቅሊጦስ[2]፡ አሜን። [F19vb] [P27]

(137) በረከተ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወሀብተ፡ ረድኤታ[1]፡ ወፍቅረ፡ ዚአሃ፡ ለዛቲ፡ [K17va] እምነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ታ[A15rc]ቦተ፡ ሕግ፤ እንተ፡ ይ[D59ra]እቲ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ትምክህተ፡ [T42ra] ሕጻናት፡ ወአዕሩግ፤ የሀሉ፡ PN[2]። [Q8vb] ወ[a]ዘይትአመን[3]፡ ኪያሃ፡ እንበለ፡ ነቲግ፤ ከመ፡ ታድኅኖ[4]፡ እምእደ፡ ሞት[5]፡ ጸዋግ፤ ምስለ[6]፡ ‡...‡[7] በደርግ፤ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ ⸢አሜን[8]።

(138) ለዘአስተሐመሞ[1]፡ ወተርጕ[S146ra]ሞ[2]፡ ለዘኒ፡ ጸሐፎ፡ ወአጽሐፎ[3]፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ድርሳን። እግዚአብሔር፡ ይምሐሮሙ[4]፡ በዕለተ፡ ደይን። ምስ[A15va]ለ፡ ኵሎ[F20ra]ሙ፡ ውሉደ፡ ጥምቀት[5]፡ ክርስቲያን[6]። ዘከነ፡ ትውክልቶሙ፡ በጽዮን። [B25v][A15vb] እምነቶሙ፡ በሥሉስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ብሉያነ፡ [D59rb] ዘመን። ⸢ሰብአ፡ ከማነ[7]፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ባሕቲታ፡ ለብርሃን፡ ዘእምብርሃን። እምነ[d/z]ወምስለ[8]፡ [K17vb] ጸሐፊሁ[9]፡

133[13] ኵሎሙ፡ D | [14] ወሐዋርያት፡ add. C | [15] om. δC | [16] አስተብፅዕዋ፡ ወይርድዕዋ፡ add. C | [17] ሐመር፡ A | [18] om. A | [19] እንበለ፡ CQS | [20] ወእዌድሳ፡ ADF; ወእዌድስ፡ δ | [21] ዘያድለቀልቅ፡ δ | [22] om. CS | [23] ill. C | [24] ጽርሕት፡ (sic) δ; ፍልሐተ፡ ’ C | [25] ይው፡ (sic) C; om. F | [26] ባላትየ፡ (sic) C; በውስተ፡’ F; አባልየ፡ S. 134[1] ወለእመሰ፡ C | [2] ቀለመ፡ ወክርታሰ፡ C | [3] በኵሉ፡ C | [4] መዋዕላትየ፡ β; መዋዕለ፡ ሕይወትየ፡ C | [5] om. λ| [6] እመ፡ C | [7] ሰማይ፡ S | [8] ጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ንግሥትነ፡ C. 135[1] om. C | [2] ዘንስቲት፡ C | [3] om. C | [4] ትሰምእዎ፡ δ | [5] ወከመ፡ ትትናዘዝዎ፡ C | [6] በበዓለ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ C | [7] om. C | [8] ወድንግልት፡ AB; om. C; ወድንግል፡ P; ድንግልት፡ KT | [9] በ፪ኤ፡ δ; om. C | [10] b-b ወጸሎታ፡ (sic) ወበረከታ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ገብራ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወምስለ፡ አመታ፡ ወለተ፡ ጻድቅ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም። add. A (s.l.); ማርያም፡ ንግሥትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ለዓለመ፡ (*C.39v*) ዓለም፡ አሜን። ዘጸሐፎ፡ ለዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ወልደ፡ መስቀል፡ ለዓ. ዓለ. አሜን (*C.41r*)። add. C. 136 C is not consulted hereafter.—[1] om. β | [2] om. S. 137[1] ረድኤተ፡ A | [2] ምስለ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ገብራ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወምስለ፡ አመታ፡ ወለተ፡ ጻድቅ፡ (s.l.) A; ምስለ፡ ኵልነ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። δ; om. D; ምስለ፡ ገብራ፡ ለጽየን፡ (sic) F; ምስለ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ገብራ፡ ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ K; ምስለ፡ ነፍሰ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ Q; ምስሌነ፡ አሜን፡ S; ምስለ፡ አመታ፡ አዋልደ፡ ንግሥት፡ T| [3] ለዘይትአመኑ፡ F | [4] ታድኅኖሙ፡ F; ታድኅነነ፡ S | [5] ዓይነ፡ ሞት፡ ε | [6] ወምስለ፡ F | [7] አበዊሁ፡ A; አዝማዲሁ፡ ε; ጽዮን፡ F; ጸሐፊሁ፡ ወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ S; ጸሐፊሁ፡ ξ | [8] a-a om. δ. 138[1] ለዘአስተሐተሞ፡ P | [2] ወለዘተርጕሞ፡ δS | [3] ወለዘአጽሐፎ፡ B; ወለዘአጽሐፎ፡ ወለዘሰምዐ፡ P | [4] ይምሐሮ፡ β | [5] አክሱም፡ AB | [6] ሕዝበ፡ ’ F; ክርስቶሳውያን፡ S | [7] ill. K | [8] z-z om. FSξ | [9] ወልደ፡ ገብርኤል፡ add. F

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ምስኪን፡ ዘኃጢአቱ[10]፡ [d]አጥናን[11]። [8]ወምስለ[12]፡ ደቂቃ፡ ለዛቲ፡ መካን። [9]ወጎቡረ፡ ያስምዖሙ፡ [T41[rb]] ቃለ፡ ምሕረቱ፡ አምላክ፡ በበዓላ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን[13]። [D59[va]][P28]

(139) [1f]አ[1]፡ እምየ፡ ጽዮን፤ ፍድዩ[2]፡ ⌜ዘዚአየ፡ ኃጣውአ[3]፡ [g]ወጌጋየ። [2]ወጸሐፌ[4]፡ ስምየ[5]፡ ጎበ፡ ዓምደ፡ [g]ብርሃን[6]። [3r]ለገብርኪ[7]፡ PN[8] [k]⌜ኃጥእ፡ ወምኑን[9]። [4]⌜ጎጡአ፡ አእምሮ፡ ወኪን[10]። [5r]ወምስለ[11]፡ ኮልነ፡ [b]ሰማዕያን[12]፤ [k]ለዓለመ[13]፡ ዓለም፡ [f]አሜን[14]፡ [B25[v]][T41[va]] [p]ወአሜን[15]፤ ለይኩን፡ [p]ለይኩን[16]። [F20[rb]] [K18[ra]][Q8[vc]][S145[vb]].

138[10] ወኃጢአቱ፡ F | [11] [d-d] om. ε | [12] ምስለ፡ ኮሎሙ፡ ε | [13] om. S. 139[1] om. S | [2] ሥረዪ፡ ε | [3] ኃጢአትየ፡ D; ’ ኃጣውእ፡ K | [4] ወጸሐፈ፡ (sic) F | [5] om. F | [6] [g-g] om. D | [7] ለአመትኪ፡ T | [8] om. D; ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ K; ill. S; አዋልደ፡ ንግሥት፡ T | [9] om. D; ኃጥእት፡ ወምንንት፡ T | [10] om. DFξ | [11] [r-r] ጽዮን፡ F; ምስለ፡ ፀሓፊሁ፡ ወልደ፡ ዳዊት፡ add. K | [12] [b-b] om. β | [13] [k-k] om. D | [14] [f-f] om. Q | [15] om. K | [16] [p-p] om. β; ’ለይን፡ (sic) D.

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CHAPTER 5

Annotated Translation

Of Zion[1]

(1) In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit One God. In the name of *Kəsbə'el, Beqa* and of *Akaʿ*.[2] This is a hidden secret which is fastened[3] to the throne of heaven, whose essence is not known either by the minds of angels or of men, which is not hewn by the axe of the wicked, and is not defeated in war.[4] His wheel is a [guiding] lamp and His tabernacle is [well] ordered.

(2) The lightning is His domain and as for His horses [they] are four. His glory is great and full in the mouth of the vigilant. He who existed before the epochs and [similarly] for heaven before it was established. Creator of angels

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1 Some witnesses [A & B] say **ዘሠኑይ፡** 'of Monday'; one version [C] says **ዘሙሴ፡** 'of Moses'; some [D, F & S] omit the title. The Printed version [P] says **ድርሳነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘሰኑይ፡** 'Homily of Zion, on Monday'; and the other families keep the title **ዘጽዮን፡** 'of Zion'.

2 *Dərsanä Mika'el* (published by Täsfa, 1964/1965 [EC 1957]) lists 17 theonyms (names of the Lord), including the above three. The text goes like this: **አካዕ፡ ክስብኤል፡ ቤቃ፡ ጴቃ፡ ሴቃ፡ አልፋ፡ ወያ፡ ቤጣ፡ የውጣ፡ ዮድ፡ አህያ፡ ሸራህያ፡ ኤልሻዳይ፡ ጸባያት፡ አዶናይ፡ ዐማኑኤል፡ እልመክኑን። ወእሎንተ፡ አስማተ፡ ጸሐፈ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት። ወበእሉ፡ አስማት፡ ወድቀ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ምስለ፡ ሠራዊቱ፡ ተዐጺፎ፡ ጽልመተ፡ ሌሊት። ከማሁ፡ አውድቆሙ፡ ለፀርየ፡ ወለጸላእትየ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።** *'Akaʿ, Kəsbə'el, Beqa, Ṣeqa, Seqa, Alfa, wäʿO, Beṭa, Yäwṭa, Yod, Aḥya, Šärahya, Elšaday, Ṣäbaʿot, Adonay, ʿAmanu'el, Ǝlmäknun* 'hidden' (cf. Leslau 1987: 340). Our Lord Jesus Christ inscribed these names to St. Michael the archangel. And by these names the Devil fell down together with his army wrapped: the darkness of night. In the same way, let you cause my adversaries and enemies to fall forever and ever amen'. (Text, *Dərsanä Mika'el*, published by Täsfa 1964/1965 [EC 1957]: 31–32; translation, mine.) Grébaut (1935: 45) gives the text and French translation based on *Dərsanä Mika'el* of MS Griaule no. 61. He notes that all the above names (he lists 16 names) are mysterious names [of God revealed on] the fall of Devil. According to DṢ, we can assume that **ክስብኤል፡** signifies the Father, **ቤቃ፡** the Son, and **አካዕ፡** the Holy Spirit. However, the meaning is totally unclear. Sirgew Gelaw (2006: 126) suggests that **አካዕ፡** is the name of God [the name which is recited during solemn service, public prayer], taken from the Greek **አካይያ፡**.

3 Sections [§§1–3] are praises of the Lord composed in the form of *arke*, in rhythm. The translation, however, is in prose.

4 'Who is not defeated in war' is the old title of the Ethiopian Kings. It is already found in 'Ezana's inscriptions at Axum, *DAE* vol. 4: nos. 4, 6, 7, and later in Axum *DAE* vol. 4: nos. 8, 9, 10. Cf. *DAE* vol. 4: 4–17, Amsalu Aklilu (1983/1984 [EC 1976]: 11–24), Huntingford (1989: 1), Munro-Hay (1991: 127, 187), Sergew (1972: 69).

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by the breath of His mouth from the two elements,[5] who created Adam in His image and likeness, whose right hand is strong. (3) He who arranged the epochs and ages until the end, by the seal of man. His wisdom is great and cannot be exhausted in speech. [He is] One God and one Lord, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, indivisible and from a single source. He deserves praise by the mouth of all creatures and by the stammering and stuttering tongue, forever and ever, Amen.

(4) I cry aloud and wonder; I praise and sing in celebration of Her feast by the golden lamp stand. Our Lady, pure and bright, the celestial Zion, the true Ark of the Law, whom celestial and terrestrial beings praise. (5) None can be equated to Her in beauty and splendor, in honor and greatness except only the Lord. (6) When the feet of my mind went around in Her courtyards, I rejoiced and said 'I will read and interpret even though I am unworthy. In the beginning God created the heaven. And the earth was existed from old age'.

(7) And again I will proceed and say 'He who loved the mountain of Zion built His sanctuary on the heights. And He established Her forever on earth. She is the earth existed before the world'. (8) The celestial Zion, in whom the saints reside, who reigns forever and ever, together with those of Her, while the light of His Lamb is shining for Her. Mount of Zion situated towards the east, by the side of which is southeast. (9) The city[6] of the great king, for whose coming righteous men and saints, those who shared Her wealth, were waiting. And the Lord[7] knows all without exception.[8] He chose Zion and founded Her to be his dwelling and said 'I will dwell in Her for I was well pleased in Her and chose Her'. (10) Truly, the Lord God having known that He founded Zion from the beginning when He caused the exodus of His people from making bricks and from the house of bondage, He said to Moses, His servant and prophet, when he was ascending to Mount Sinai 'Stand there for me. (11) There is no one who ascended with you and there is no one who is present at the mountain top except you. And take off your sandals from your feet, for the ground where you are standing is Holy'.[9] After He finished saying this and the like, He gave him the Tablets of the Law in his hand, which are inscribed on both sides: on this side and on that side. (12) As for their writing, it was the writing of the

5 Theologically, angels are considered to be created from the two elements, viz. fire and wind (cf. Ps. 103:4). The reading of [C] is considered here as the true and authentic one, against the rest of the manuscripts.

6 Cf. Ps. 48:2 and 8; 87:3.

7 In this book, 'Lord' is used for the Ge'ez እግዚአብሔር፡ and 'God' for አምላክ፡.

8 Lit. 'without it exists'.

9 With reference to the Burning Bush, cf. Exod. 3:5.

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Lord. The name of the Lord *Iota*[10] which allegorically means 'Son of God', was engraved on the Tablet.[11] And the Lord said to Moses 'I have given you this tablet of covenant, by which I will establish My covenant with all Israelites'. (13) When He said this to Moses having known ‡…‡ in the womb of Mary who is Zion, Ark of Law, of the covenant, in order that the faithful who are Israelites could be saved by Her. (14) When Moses was before the Lord, he received this Tablet in his hand which was made skillfully in ink of fire by the fingers of the divinity. (15) The inscription was as follows: according to the Hebrew language and in the letters[12] of Enoch which he was taught. Its words and its spaces[13] were like this: the Ten Commandments, which are one letter and one stroke, as compared with which it would be easier for Heaven and earth to pass away.

(16) And again the Lord said to Moses 'I filled with wisdom Basl'el[14] of Uri, son of Hur of [the tribe of] Judah, and Elyab[15] [son] of *Ahisamach*, of the people of Dan. (17) I gave them the Holy Spirit, wisdom and full knowledge in order for them to perform every action for the Tabernacle, the sacred Ark, the candlestick, and the observation window which is above it inside the Tabernacle'.

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10 **የውጣ፡** 'Iota' is the name given to Jesus (derived from the initial letter of His Greek name *Iēsous*). Dillmann (cf. 1865: 1076) cites the following quotation in reference to His name: **ቀዳሜ፡ ስሙ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ የውጣ፡ በጕልቈ፡ ፲፡** (cf. Platt 1834: 60). Similarly Leslau (1987: 628) states that it also implies the Ten Commandments and mentions that 'the Greek letter [*ι*] has the form of the Ge'ez numeral ፲ 'ten''. *Mäṣḥafä Bərhan* also discusses the 'Iota' as the fulfillment of the Ten Commandments, thus the Virgin Mary, whose womb held the Lord of all including the Law, corresponds to the stone Tablets on which God wrote His Law (cf. Conti Rossini and Ricci 1964–1965; Isaac 1973: 116–125; Paulos Yohannes 1988: 104–105).

11 Cf. '… And He wrote upon the tablets the words of the covenant, the Ten Commandments' (Exod. 34:28) and 'And He wrote on the tablets, as at the first writing, the Ten Commandments which the Lord gave to us' (Deut. 10:4). Hebrew and Septuagint have 'you', Gəʿəz has 'us'.

12 Gəʿəz *fidälat*.

13 **ኖኅት፡**, the blank spaces between letters (from 'door'). Cf. Kane 1990, vol. 1: 1.

14 The wisdom of Basl'el and Elyab is popular in Ethiopian Biblical and hagiographical traditions. *Gädlä Libanos*, for instance, equates the holiness and greatness of Libanos with the two craftsmen. The text goes as follows: **በመኑ፡ ናስተማስሎ፡ ለአቡነ፡ ብንተ፡ ዓይን። በኤልያብኑ፡ ወበባስልኤል፡ ጠቢባን። ወሚመ፡ በኢያሱኑ፡ መስፍን፡ ዘአቀመ፡ ፀሐየ፡ በገባዖን።** 'To whom shall we compare our father [Libanos], the apple of the eye? To Elyab and to Basl'el the craftsmen, or to Joshua the Judge, who stopped the sun at Gibeon' (cf. Josh. 10:12–13). Basl'el (Hebrew *Beṣal'el*) means 'in the shadow of God'.

15 The Gəʿəz text (following the Septuagint) has confused the two names Eliab and Oholiab. In the Hebrew Bible the craftsman is 'Oholiab son of Ahisamakh' (Exod. 31:6); this name means 'father's tent' (Eliab is a different person).

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(18) Then Moses having received the order and having taken that Tablet, descended from Mount Sinai. He returned to the people and told them about the Law of the Lord and ordered those two wise men[16] to carry out the ordinance of the Tabernacle. And they prepared Her in a way that was never (before) conceived of by the heart of man.[17] (19) ‡…‡ Ten curtains, for each end, whose height was twenty-eight cubits. And made a curtain and its width was four cubits. They made the curtain of the tabernacle of violet purple and the color of liver; and an image of the Cherub[18] inside ‡…‡ four columns.[19]

(20) They made the Mercy Seat over Her where the Ark of holiness of the Lord was standing. And two Cherubim:[20] one Cherub at one margin of the Mercy Seat and the other at the other margin.[21] They were protecting (it) with their wings. Seven are Her golden lamps.[22] (21) And everything that was made for the construction of the sanctuary was pure gold which they brought. Its number was twenty-nine talents and seven hundred and thirty shekels, according to the shekel of the sanctuary.[23] And as for the silver, it was a hundred

16 Basl'el and Elyab.

17 Exod. 36:8–10.

18 Cherub (sing.), Cherubim (pl.) is a winged celestial being which appears in the Bible in several different guises: Guardian of Eden (Gen. 3:24), the parable of relating the downfall of the king of Tyre (Ezk. 28:13ff.), a personified wind which the Lord rides upon (2Sam. 22:11, Ps. 18:11), its figure appropriated for cultic symbolism. According to the *New Bible Dictionary* (Carson et al. 1997: 112) '*Cherubim* were the traditional guardians of holy places in the Ancient Near East'. Moreover, as mentioned in DṢ text, two wooden images of Cherubim overlaid with gold, facing one another on the two ends of the covering above the Ark in the Tabernacle, form the throne of God with their outstretched wings (Exod. 25:18–20; 37:7–9). They are the counterparts of the two huge cherubim found in the Holy of Holies (*devir*) of Solomon's Temple. This role of the cherubim is alluded to in several biblical passages where God is spoken of as 'He who sits [enthroned] upon the cherubim' (1Sam. 4:4, 2Sam. 6:2, 2Kings 19:15, Isa. 37:16, Ps. 80:2, 99:1). For further discussion and etymology on the subject, cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* vol. 5 (1972): 397–401.

19 Exod. 36:8–9.

20 Here, the majority of the families commit an error by anticipating the preposition **ውስተ፡** 'in', from the following phrase: **ውስተ፡ ፩፡ ኪሩብ፡ ውስተ፡ ጽንፈ፡**. On the other hand, [C] and [S] reflect the original reading (cf. Dillmann 1853: 165).

21 Cf. Exod. 37:7–8, which goes: 'And he made two Cherubim of hammered gold; on the two ends of the mercy seat he made them, one cherub on the one end, and one cherub on the other end; of one piece with the mercy seat he made the cherubim on its two ends' (RSV).

22 Exod. 37:23.

23 Exod. 38:24.

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talents and one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shekels, (with which) they made capitals for the columns and overlaid and adorned Her.[24]

(22) And the work of the tabernacle was completed. And as for the making of Her, I am unable to expound on it in every detail, as St. Paul said, 'It is impossible to speak of it in detail'.[25] (23) After this, the Lord spoke to Moses and said to him 'On the first [day] of the first month, set up the tabernacle and put my Ark inside the Mercy Seat where the Cherubim are protecting [it]. (24) And as for the book of the Commandments, which is the Tablet of the Law, deposit it in the womb of the Ark. In that place I will be revealed to you in My glory'.[26] In the same way, he placed the Ark inside the tabernacle, and the tablet in the womb of the Ark.

(25) And he covered Her with a curtain, which was the color of liver, as the Lord had commanded him. Then the tabernacle was filled with the glory of Lord. A column of cloud was over Her all the day, and the light of fire by night, before all the Israelites.[27]

(26) And as for the pure Ark, she is our Lady Mary, whom there is none equal to Her, neither of celestial no of terrestrials begins. And the tablet is the word of the Lord, who dwelt in Her womb, and was incarnated from Her. The Ark of the Law of the Lord, who is the celestial Zion, remained thus in great glory which could not be told until Moses had died. (27) After this, when the Israelites were going out and when they were marching around Jericho,[28] the priests entered the Jordan (River) whilst carrying Zion and they stood in the middle of the river. (28) As for the water it stood still, and was not able to come down until all the Israelites had crossed. And [at that season] the water was [normally] full to its banks, the priests carrying Zion stood as if it were dry ground, (fully) dressed.[29] (29) Then they took twelve stones from where the feet of the priests were standing, according to the number of the twelve tribes of Israel.[30] After all the people had crossed, the priests carrying Zion departed. Then, the River Jordan became full to its banks as before.[31] (30) And what the celestial Zion

24 Exod. 38:28.

25 Heb. 9:5.

26 Exod. 40:1 ff.

27 Exod. 13:21–22.

28 The account here is chronologically confused. The Israelites could not besiege Jericho until they had first crossed the Jordan.

29 Josh. 3:14–17.

30 Josh. 4:8 ff.

31 Josh. 4:18.

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performed was on the 10th [day] of the month of *Ǝbralyos*,[32] which is the month *Qädaqya*.[33] All the children of Israel gave great praise and they glorified Our Lady, until they reached Jericho.

(31) The Ark of the Law of the Lord went around the wall[s] of Jericho together with the priests and all the Israelites with a great shout. And then its walls fell down. They burnt the city with fire and left nothing inside it except the golden vessels which were to be for the house of the Lord.[34] And She did great prodigies until She destroyed the people of Jericho and their cattle.[35]

(32) And also the people of Gay,[36] Zion our Queen and Mother did great prodigies against them. And she killed all people, women and men, who were twelve thousand; these were all of the people of Gay. (33) And also the city, she burnt with fire and they became ashes. She made them such that no one could live in them[37] until this day and this moment. She ordered the king of Gay to be

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32 **መርሃ፡ ዕብራልዮስ፡** is not found in the Jewish calendar. This is an adaptation of the Latin month *Aprilis* 'April'. The first month of the Jewish calendar is the month of *Nisan* (also that of the Babylonian), the Geʿez **መርሃ፡ ኔሳን፡** or Amharic **ሚያዚያ፡** (April 9–May 8), in the spring, when Passover occurs.

33 Some families [δC] say **ቀዳማዊ፡ መርኀ፡** 'the first month'. Nevertheless, most of the families retain the reading **መርሃ፡ ቀዳቅያ፡** 'month *qädaqya*', which may be a derivation of the Coptic month. However, the Bible says that this act was performed on the tenth day of the first month (cf. Josh. 4:19).

34 Josh. 6:24.

35 Josh. 6:21.

36 Cf. Josh. 8:25. The name 'Gay' is the Septuagint's rendition of Hebrew *ʿAy*; the Hebrew *ʿayn* becomes Γ (gamma) or Ø (zero) in Greek. On the other hand, there is the name of a province in South Gondär, Ethiopia, called *Gayənt* **ጋይንት፡** . Traditionally its etymology comes from ***ጋይ፡ ናት፡** lit. 'This is Gay'. The legend attributes that a certain queen named it due to its resemblance to the Biblical *Gay*—the land of Joshua (Jos. 8:1). It is clear that there are various place names in South Gondär and other parts of Ethiopia named after Israelite places, such as **ቤተልሔም፡** *Betälḥem* (South Gondär), **ኤፍራታ፡** *Efrata* (South Gondär), **ደብረ፡ ታቦር፡** *Däbrä Tabor* (South Gondär), **ናዝሬት፡** *Nazret* (East Shoa, also in South Təgray) where it was a seat of the Ethiopian Bishops for a long period, several of whom were buried there (cf. Munro-Hay 2006: 80), **ጋዛ፡ ቊስቋም፡** *Gaza Qʷəsqʷam* (South Gondär, cf. Kefyalew (2010/2011 [EC 2003]: 237)), **ደብረ፡ ዘይት፡** *Däbrä Zäyt* (East Shoa), **ደብረ፡ ሲና፡** *Däbrä Sina* (North Shoa), **ገሊላ፡** *Gälila* (in *Yəfat*, North Shoa). There is also **ሀገረ፡ ማርያም፡** *Hagära Maryam* (in Awasa-Dilla route, South Ethiopia, also in North Shoa) etc. Spencer (1972: 68) lists six provinces adjacent districts of *Tädbabä Maryam*. Her statement goes as follows: 'The names of most of the adjacent districts are taken from the Bible: names like Palestine, Jerusalem, Jericho, Hebron, Galilee, and Bethany'.

37 MS [C] has: '… and *it* became ashes. She made it such that no one could live in *it* until …'.

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hanged on a cedar tree,[38] for the power of the Lord went with Her and angels paved Her road. (34) In this way, She continued many years to destroy many wicked kings. And any city where the name of the Creator was not invoked, it would be destroyed. (35) And now my fathers and brothers, encircle Zion and embrace the glory of Her feast while chanting. As for Her, She is adorned in the beauty of praise. She is more exalted than the heavens and She is more glorious than all the saints and the vigilant ones.[39] Zion, the country of Immanuel, Our God. O Zion our mother, holder of dew of the divinity.

(36) The bride of Lebanon,[40] who is like the throne of the father of Rehoboam[41] when he reigned over the horn of bondage, on which twelve fearsome lions were depicted. (37) What kind of honor is given to Her, and what kind of grace from the Father of the Light?

(38) The Ark of our Law, Zion, our Lady, who was established before the world, in the mind of God, the Father, and by the favor of [His] only Son, and by the gift of the Holy Spirit, the *Paraclete*, [who are] co-equal in sovereignty, to be His dwelling, as the scripture says 'For the Lord has chosen Zion and He has given precedence to Her to be His dwelling. I will dwell here for I have chosen Her and this is My resting place forever'.[42]

(39) Truly He chose and loved Zion and built His sanctuary in the Highest. And He watches over Her always with His angels. Her gates are not closed day or night. Those who abide within Her do not hunger, thirst, grieve nor weep. There is no sorrow within Her, only joy and gladness. There is no burning or coldness, no day or night, no moon, stars or sun which gives light within Her.

(40) and she does not desire within Her anything under Heaven, nothing other than those saints who purified their garments with the Blood of the Lamb, who acquired[43] Her by the effort of their struggle. (41) Those are they who carry palm branches. They sing (praises) as Moses, the servant of the Lord, praised in the canticle of the Lamb, while they stand in Her courts and in all Her paths, saying 'Hallelujah, He who elevated Zion above all worlds; Hallelujah for Her who became the dwelling of His praise'.

(42) 'Hallelujah for Him one who sanctified the Sabbath and purified Her in order that all the angels, archangels, lords[44] dominions, powers, thrones,

38 Josh. 8:29.

39 Leslau (1987: 571) says 'also referring to angels', which is surely the sense here.

40 Cf. Song 4:8.

41 I.e. King Solomon (cf. 1Kings 11:43).

42 Ps. 132:13–14.

43 Lit. 'bought'.

44 Geʿez አጋእዝት፡ plural of እግዚእ፡ (Leslau 1987: 210).

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tribunals, Cherubim, and Seraphim might greet Her'. They worship in the threshold of Her gates and He watches over Her with His might always and He illuminates her forever and ever with His light of Divinity which never sets. (43) Sometimes she is like an orchard whose fruits are many and more fragrant than all perfumes. Sometimes she is like the city of happiness. There are also times when she looks like the palace of a king. And sometimes she looks like the Ark and the Tablet with the Ten Commandments which are in Her womb. (44) As for Her, She is the one that the saints wish to see. Blessed are all those who stand within Her and sing Her praises. Blessed is the man for whom She became a mother when He was travelling and whom She received when He kissed Her door, as the prophet said 'Blessed are all those who live on earth [and] let them praise you forever and ever'. Truly, the stars of Zion our mother ‡...‡ are praising the Lord.

(45) Let us come back to the remaining matter which awaits us, concerning the story of Zion, who did miracles and wonders four hundred years after the children of Israel went out of Egypt, in the time of the prophesy of Samuel. When Eli because old, his sons who were priests were wicked and walked in the path of evil before the Lord. (46) The Lord was angered at the Israelites and made them fall before the Philistines and four thousand men died in battle in the desert.[45] The surviving Israelites escaped and entered to their country and said 'For what reason did the Lord make us to be given into the hands of the Philistines?' (47) They did not know it was due to the sins of Eli and his sons' evil deeds (that they perished). After this, they took the Ark of our God together with the image of the Cherub. And the two priests, the sons of Eli, Afnin and Finḥas, went to fight the Philistines. Then they cried out in the encampment when Zion reached them. (48) When the Philistines heard (this), they became afraid and said 'Woe to us! Woe to us! For all the Hebrews have come with their God to wipe us out. Woe to us! Woe to us! Who shall save us from those who smote Egypt with many calamities?'[46] (49) But the hand of the Lord was with the Philistines to make war on them because of the sins of Eli and of his sons, the priests, who had made the sacrifice of our God unclean; and because they abused Zion.

(50) After that, the Israelites fought against the Philistines and the Israelites were killed at the hands of the Philistines. The number of those who died on that day was 30,000 men.[47] Afnin and Finḥas also died. And the Philistines

45 Cf. 1Sam. 4:2.

46 1Sam. 4:5–7.

47 1Sam. 4:10 ff.

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took and captured the Ark. (51) A certain man from the battlefield ran to Eli, and he entered and told him that the Israelites had been destroyed and that his sons had died, and that they [Philistines] had carried off Zion. And Eli the priest, after hearing that the Ark was captured and everything that had happened, fell over backwards from his chair and died; for the hand of our God was heavy upon him.[48] (52) Then the Philistines took the Ark and brought Her to the house of Dagon,[49] their god, proclaiming 'Dagon, our god is stronger than all'. (53) So, listen that I may speak to you, I who am weak in power, of stammering tongue and humble heart more than all [my] brothers, about the many prodigies, miracles and wonders that She performed upon Israel and the Philistines. (54) When the priests corrupted the Law of the Lord, she caused Israel to perish by the spear. Further, when they brought Her into the house of Dagon, the people of Azaṭon[50] got up in the morning and found Dagon there fallen on his face before the Ark.[51] They immediately raised him up and stood him up in his place in honor.

(55) And the Lord became angry against them over Zion and He punished the people of Azaṭon and their territory with a great punishment. And when again in the morning they went into the house of Dagon, they found him fallen on his face at the feet of Zion, our Queen. His head was cut off, his two hands and his palms were fallen on the doorway. Nothing remained of him except his trunk.[52]

(56) On account of this astonishing miracle, there was much agitation, moaning and lamentation among the priests of Dagon. And they did not go up to sacrifice to him as was their custom. There was lamentation and wailing, and the hand of the Lord was heavy upon the people of Azaṭon. (57) And He brought [an infestation] to their country, (namely) mice in boats, which destroyed all. There was a terrible calamity which happened to this country. And they were shouting [and lamenting] by saying 'Let the Ark of the God of Israel not remain with us, for Her hand is severe upon us and upon Dagon, our god'.

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48 1Sam. 4:16–18.

49 1Sam. 5:2.

50 In the Hebrew Bible this city is 'Ashdod' (cf. 1Sam. 5:1). Here the Gəʿəz name of the city, 'Azaṭon', is given, taken over from the Septuagint 'Azōton'.

51 Here it is worth mentioning the *Wazema Qəne* of Gämoraw, the famous *Qəne* scholar, delivered at the yearly feast of *Ḫədar Ṣəyon*: **ዳጎን፡ ተቃላሲ፡ አመ፡ ተቃለሳ፡ ለጽዮን፡ / ዘእንበለ፡ ኢየአምር፡ ግብራ፤ / ሰማየ፡ አብጺሓ፡ አልሐሰቶ፡ ምድራ።**, lit. translation 'The contentious Dagon, when he contended with Zion without discerning Her power, She [Zion] raised (him) to the sky and then made him like Her earth'.

52 1Sam. 5:3–5.

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(58) Hence, they sent to the lords of Philistines and assembled them and said to them, 'What shall we do with Zion?' Then the wise men, people of Get, said: 'Let the Ark of the Lord be removed from us'. And they sent away Zion.[53] (59) And then after they sent away Zion to the city,[54] there was great shouting. He punished the people of that country: adult and child, man and woman. The people of Get made an image for those who were punished[55] and they sent the Ark of the God of Israel to the city of Asqälona. (60) When they took Her [into Asqälona], they said 'By what deed, by what matter and why did you leave Zion, the Ark of God of Israel, to us, for Her to kill us together with our people, our wives, our children and all our cattle?' Then, they sent for the lords of the Philistines and gathered them. They said to them 'Send away Zion so that She should dwell in to Her [own] place. (61) Let you send Zion to reign over Her [own] people and let Her not kill us with a bitter death'. For there was great punishment indeed in the country when Zion entered to them. Both the living and the dead were punished. The wailing of the city ascended unto heaven. Then they brought forth Zion to the desert and she dwelt there for seven months and She remained alone. (62) The end was worse than the beginning. When the Ark of the Lord our God sent out to the desert, their country was infested by mice as the land of Egypt had suffered with frogs during the Exodus of Israel.[56] Likewise, their land was infested because of Zion.

(63) During this time, the Philistines and people of Asqälona called the soothsayers and magicians and conjurers. They asked them, 'What shall we do with Zion, the Ark of the God of Israel? Please tell us and advise us what to do with Her and in what manner we should send Her to Her country and Her place so that She should stay (there)'. (64) And the magicians, very zealous for Dagon their god, told them 'Let Zion return to Her country and to Her people. And let us not send Her back alone and empty-handed but let Her sending be (accompanied) with much compensation'. (65) And the people said to the magicians 'What is the compensation[57] that She deserves? And what objects shall we cause to follow Her? As for us, we what have no fear nor sorrow at all

53 1Sam. 5:11.

54 The text doesn't say which city (ሀገር፡). The Hebrew Bible reports that the Ark was sent from Ashdod (አዛውን፡) to Gat (ጌት፡) to 'Eqron (አቃሮን፡) back to Israel.

55 The text is unclear. An image of what? Is the image intended to relieve the punishment? (Possibly cf. Numbers 21:8–9?) Is it the same as the images of mice and swellings which were sent as compensation to the Israelites? (1Sam. 6:5).

56 Cf. Exod. 8:1–6.

57 The Ethiopic ሞጻ፡ is translated as 'compensation' and 'guilt offering' in this paper. So that we use them interchangeably.

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about the objects of Her compensation. As for us, what we are deeply sorrowful about is the affliction that befell us because of Her and from Her'. (66) Then the magicians said 'Let compensation be offered because you seized and captured Her. And do not return Her empty in order that She may be gracious to you. And let Her compensations be according to the number of the five lords of the Philistines. As she devastated your land by sending mice, then you must give many golden mice. And you must praise the God of Israel in order that He remove His hand from upon you and from upon your gods'.[58]

(67) However, when the people heard (this) they kept silent and were not willing to return Zion. Hence, they [the][59] declared to them again 'Why should you harden your hearts as the Egyptians hardened their hearts against the release of the children of Israel?' (68) When His hand was hardened over them, Pharaoh then sent them away and they departed. In the same way, you should return Zion and make Her new carts. Let you bring two cows, which have first-born. Let their calves remain at home. Then put those carts upon the cows[60] and place the Ark in the carts. And make follow those golden objects after Her.[61] (69) 'Do not[62] make Her a box into Her side, but you just dispatch Her in order to return Her to Her country'. And then they did as they ordered them. And they took two cows which had first-born and they shut up the house with their calves [inside].[63] They brought a cart[s] and they placed them upon the cows. Then they put Zion, the Ark of our Law, upon them, with the Ten Commandments in Her interior. (70) Moreover, they brought doves and mice and had them follow after Her. The cows went straight in the path, [without deviating] either to the right or to the left. And the five lords of the Philistines followed Her: the first of Azaṭon, the second of Get, the third of Aqaron,[64] the fourth of Gaza and the fifth of [Asqälona][65] ‡...‡ [They brought five] golden

58 1Sam. 6:4–5.

59 The magicians.

60 A picture of a cow drawing a cart appears in MS [D], NALA 630, f. 43^{v}.

61 Cf. 1Sam. 6:6–9.

62 In context this does not seem to make good sense. Two manuscripts ([B] and [P]) have ወግበሩ፡ , where the verb is positive, not negative; this agrees with the Septuagint and the Hebrew bible.

63 All DṢ families have different readings in this sentence. The reading however, is reconstructed after consulting the corresponding KN passage from Bezold 1905: 72a.

64 1Sam. 6:17 lists the five cities of Philistines as: Ashdod (for Gəʿəz *Azaṭon*), Gaza (same), Ashkelon (for *Asqälona*), Gath [for *Get*] and ʿEqron (for *Aqaron* or *Aqrənt*).

65 This fifth city is omitted by all the families. We can reconstruct the passage by referring to the Bible (1Sam 6:18).

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mice according to their number of all their cities. And they proceeded until they reached [Betä] Samis. And that time was the harvest season.

(71) The people of [Betä] Samis were reaping wheat. When they saw Zion, they rejoiced and exulted, and they welcomed and positioned Her together with the cart in the field. And the people of Betä Samis, those who welcomed Her, made a sacrifice there to the Lord, at that time. The cows, at that time ‡…‡.[66] At this moment, great praise was done. And from there the priests welcomed Zion, the Ark of the Law of the God of Israel. (72) And they ‡…‡[67] over Her; and as for the golden objects, they caused them to accompany Her. Upon seeing this, the five lords, with their troops, returned to Asqälona saying 'We have freed ourselves of Zion and have abandoned Her'. And at that time, when the sons of Ikonəyu[68] together with the people of [Betä] Samis looked upon Zion, they did not welcome Her; and She killed fifty thousand and seventy people.[69]

(73) Those who remained wept and said 'The Lord has punished us because of Zion'. After She did that, the people of [Betä] Samis, said that 'What shall we do with Zion and in which place should we put Her?' Then, they sent messengers to those who live at Qaryat-(ye)arim[70] saying 'The Philistines have returned Zion the Ark. Come, welcome Her among you'.[71] (74) Hearing this, they rejoiced, came, welcomed Her and brought Her to the house of Aminadab,[72] which was on the hill. At that time, they sanctified Her and gave Her to Al'azar[73] to guard Zion and to become a priest. In this manner She lived a long time, for about[74] twenty years.[75]

(75) During the reign of David, when he fought the Philistines, David took all the youth of Israel, whose number is seventy thousand.[76] He arose and went

66 Only the printed text [P] contains a reading which makes full this incomplete sentence. The majority of the families omit it and the rest of the manuscripts maintain an incomplete phrase. It may be a common archetype error for only [P] preserves the original reading, or it may be a later correction.

67 The reading from all families is not clear.

68 The Septuagint mentions *Iechoniou* in 1Sam. 6:19; this name is absent in the Hebrew text. The Gə'əz አኮንዩ፡ follows the Septuagint.

69 The Hebrew text says literally: 'seventy men, fifty thousand men' (1Sam. 6:19).

70 Septuagint *Kariathiarim*; English 'Cariathiarim' (cf. 1Sam. 6:21).

71 1Sam. 6:21; 7:1.

72 Septuagint 'Aminadab', Hebrew 'Abinadab' (1Sam. 7:1).

73 Septuagint *Eleazar*; Hebrew El'azar; son of Aminadab/Abinadab (cf. 1Sam. 7:1).

74 Lit. 'until'.

75 Cf. 1Sam. 7:1ff.

76 The Bible says 'thirty thousand', cf. 2Sam. 6:1.

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to bring Zion, the Ark of the Law of the Lord from where She was living to the house of Aminadab, for which He is called the Lord of power. (76) They brought Zion from there and took Her while a Cherub was hovering over Her. And ʿOza,[77] the son of Aminadab, was leading Her while King David and all the Israelites were singing before the Lord with the lyre. They were playing with vigor and were singing with sistrum, bell and fiddle.[78] They arrived at the threshing floor. (77) ʿOza raised his hand in order to take hold of Zion. And the cow threw ʿOza to the ground and he died at that time because he wanted to take hold of the Ark, which was not allowed.[79] (78) And David grieved for the death of ʿOza and for Zion. David prayed[80] 'O Lord God, I am afraid because of Zion, your Ark, whom you dwell. How could She enter to me, with such a power following Her? Where shall I take Her and where shall She dwell?'[81]

(79) After saying this, he brought Zion to the household of Abidara,[82] the Gittite and She remained there for three months.[83] Consequently, the house of Abidara was blessed by the entrance of Zion, by the command of the Lord. They told David that the household of Abidara and all that belonged to him was blessed because of Zion. (80) Hearing this matter, King David went to bring up Zion, the Ark of the God of Israel, to Her country with happiness.[84] He brought Zion accompanied by a multitude of people [playing] with seven fiddles.[85] And King David, was playing the lyre and leading [the multitude] saying 'I have been made a king of Zion in the mountain of His sanctuary to declare the command of the Lord'.[86] (81) And they brought Zion in with clamor and the sound of trumpets. They put Her in Her place in the inner side of the tabernacle, where David had established Her. And he offered a sacrifice to the Lord. He sacrificed

77 Septuagint *Oza*, Hebrew ʿUzza, cf. 2 Sam. 6:3.

78 2 Sam 6: 5; 1 Chron. 13:8.

79 Cf. 2 Sam 6:6–8; 1 Chron. 13:9–11.

80 Lit. 'said'.

81 This prayer is not found in the Bible. The Hebrew and the RSV say 'And David was afraid of the Lord that day, and he said 'How can the Ark of the Lord come to me?'' (2 Sam. 6:9; 1 Chron. 13:12).

82 The Hebrew text has the name Obededom (2 Sam. 6:10). The Septuagint says *Abeddara*, which is similar the Ethiopic text.

83 2 Sam. 6:11; 1 Chron. 13:13–14.

84 1 Chron. 15:25.

85 1 Chron. 15:28.

86 Ps. 2:6. The Hebrew, however, has 'I have set my king on Zion, my holy hill'.

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cows[87] and sheep for Her dedication. (82) And the wife of David, the daughter of Saul, having been envious of him when he was dancing to Zion, despised him in her heart and said: 'From now on, he will not be my husband, for he is a king whom the girls of the city have seen dancing'. Consequently, her womb was closed and she became barren and she died without [bearing] fruit.[88]

(83) This prodigy of Zion was done when Zion was living in the tabernacle. Hence, David wished to build a temple to the God of Israel and for the Ark of His Law, Zion. (84) And the Lord said to David by the mouth of Nathan the prophet,[89] 'You are not going to build a temple for me, but your son, Solomon, who will reign after you [shall do so]. I will establish my covenant with him and as for my mercy, it will not be far from him. If he commits a sin, then I will chastise him with the rod of children'.[90] (85) Hearing this, he [David] said 'Let it be His will; for Solomon is my own son'. Then he left off building it and the Ark continued to dwell according to the Law of Moses the prophet.[91]

(86) During the fourth year of the reign of Solomon,[92] the son of David, during the second month, which is *Mayiyos*,[93] he ordered them to bring the large and precious stones. Then they brought it to King Solomon, and the sons of Kiram and his (Solomon's) own sons hewed it. In the fourth year, he built the house of the Lord, in the month of *Nisan*. (87) Its construction is like this: astonishing and marvelous to hear. Its length is forty cubits, its width is twenty cubits, its height is twenty-five;[94] and the porch in front of the sanctuary is twenty cubits. He finished constructing the building and he made hidden windows. And he made an inner chamber (deep) inside in the middle of the house, [measuring] forty cubits from the sanctuary to the holy of holies, so that

87 Lit. 'sacrifice'.

88 2 Sam. 6:16–23; 1 Chron. 15:29.

89 1 Chron. 17:3–4.

90 Cf. 2 Sam. 7:14. The Hebrew is somewhat different: 'I will chastise him with the rod of men and with the stroke of the sons of Adam'. The Septuagint and the Gəʿəz Bible agree with the Hebrew.

91 2 Sam. 7:1–17; 1 Chron. 17:1–15.

92 In the four hundred and eightieth year after the people of Israel came out the land of Egypt (cf. 1 Kings 6:1).

93 This month is similar with the English May, from Latin *Maius*. The Hebrew Bible gives the month as *Ziv*, the second month (1 Kings 6:1, 6:37), equivalent to *Iyar*, the Babylonian *Ayaru*, which has the Gregorian equivalent of 'April–May'. It has 29 days.

94 Cf. 1 Kings 6:2. The difference in the measurements is unexplained.

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Zion, the Ark of the Lord, could dwell there.[95] (88) He made two Cherubim above Zion. The height of the first Cherub was ten cubits; one of his wings was five [cubits], and the second was the same. Ten cubits were between them until their wings met. And the two were equal, and the nature of both was the same. They covered the Ark with their golden wings outside.[96] As for Her interior, he caused to construct ‡…‡. (89) And the pavement of his house he inlaid with gold. As for the door-leaves he made them from pine wood and as for its columns (colonnades?) they were four[97] and there were two door-leaves in one doorway and the same for the other.[98] Their golden curtains were fitted one to another.[99]

(90) Furthermore, he made curtain[s] for the enclosure of the porch of the Holy of Holies. He erected two columns on the porch which is in the Sanctuary. He named the first Yaqum and the second Bäläz.[100] And on the capitals of the pillars he made flowers which were four cubits. (91) He made a ‘sea’[101] there. He made the pole, which has twelve ornamented oxen under Her;[102] [which are] looking in groups of three, towards the North,[103] West, South and East; and their hinder parts were towards the wall.[104] The sea was set on the top of them. As for the pedestals,[105] they were ten of bronze, and in between, there were lions, oxen and Cherub(im). And ‡…‡ four wheels ‡…‡ [on] their shoulders [there

95 Cf. 1Kings 6:19.

96 1Kings 6:23–27; 2Chron 3:10–13.

97 The reconstructed text has ራብዕ፡ ‘fourth’. Why is there an ordinal number here?

98 1Kings 6:34.

99 This entire description is evidently based on 1Kings 6; but it is not consistent.

100 Hebrew *Yakhin* and *Boʿaz* (cf. 1Kings 7:21). This same text also occurs in the Hebrew Bible in 2Chron. 3:17, but here the Septuagint (and the Gəʿəz) transcribe these two names instead of translating them.

101 Cf. 1Kings 7:23. The ‘sea’ (Hebrew *yam*) was a very large basin in the temple court. According to 2Chron. 4:6 the ‘sea’ was used for water for the priests’ ablutions, but, standing over seven feet high, it must have been very inconvenient for this purpose. It had probably some symbolic significance, as is suggested by analogous features in sanctuaries elsewhere in the ancient Near East. For further discussion of this issue, cf. Gray 1970: 189–190.

102 Cf. 1Kings 7:25.

103 Gəʿəz መስዕ፡ is translated by Leslau (1987: 362) as ‘north, north wind, southwest wind, southeast’. In context, ‘north’ makes most sense and agrees with the Hebrew.

104 The Hebrew text says that their hinder parts were ‘to the house’, which is understood to mean ‘facing inward’. This seems to disagree with DṢ.

105 The Hebrew word for ‘stands, pedestals’ is *məḵōnoṯ*, which the Septuagint translates exactly. Five of DṢ manuscripts have ሚኮት፡ , which I follow here.

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were] lions and palm trees.[106] (92) And he made ten lavers of bronze, named *keṭrogawlos*,[107] each laver holding forty *baths*.[108] Each [laver measured four cubits, with one pedestal for each laver]; and similarly for (all) ten pedestals.[109] And he put them on the left side of the house. And as for the sea, it was on the right, eastward, towards the south.

(93) In this way, King Solomon made the temple according to the heavenly wisdom which he was given. Please do not think that this was like the construction of the palace of heaven where Holy Zion, who is our Holy Lady Mary dwells. [Rather,] he made it in [this] likeness according to the heavenly wisdom he was given.

(94) As for its interpretation, it is like this: the two Cherubim are the twofold virginity of our Lady Mary, as John says about Her: 'Her wings are two'.[110] And the palm trees are the bed of the passion of the Lamb, who is the Cross. (95) The pavement of the Temple, covered with gold is the purity of the flesh of our Lady Mary. The two door-leaves of the one doorway of which he is speaking to you are the Law with the Gospel. The pinewood is the bishops who are appointed as the doors of the Church. The two pillars are Peter and Paul. The flowers of their capitals are the holy Faith. (96) As for the 'sea' which is within the house, on the right, eastward, towards the South is Baptism about which John preached for the remission of sin.[111] The poles are the priests. The flowers of the palm trees are the faith of those who are baptized and the ritual of Baptism.

(97) The twelve oxen which are with the sea are the twelve Apostles, who preached in the North, West, East and South. The ten united pedestals just like border are like the border of the Ten Commandments. The awesome lions which are in the middle are the prophets. The oxen are the apostles as we said earlier. The wheels of the carts with four shoulders in the four corners[112] are images of the four beasts[113] who bear the throne of God. (98) The ten lavers

106 Cf. 1Kings 7:36.

107 Greek *chytrókalos* (in Septuagint the inflected form in 3Kings 7:24 [= 1Kings 7:38] is *chytrókalous*), which means 'laver, pot, basin, jar; also a kind of measure' (cf. Leslau 1987: 299).

108 A *bath* is a Hebrew unit of measure.

109 The translation in square brackets follows the Bible (1Kings 7:38). The Gəʿəz text of DṢ here is too corrupt to interpret.

110 Rev. 12:14.

111 John 1:29.

112 Cf. 1Kings 7:30. The Hebrew, Septuagint and the Gəʿəz Bible do not mention 'carts' here.

113 The four Living Creatures.

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named *keṭrogawlos*, holding forty *baths*, this is the Law. The forty lavers, of which he is speaking to you, are the prophetical scriptures of the Prophets until Enoch. And in the same way the ritual of the temple of Solomon is being perfected in the ritual of the Holy Church.

(99) I have written to you according to my ability because of [my] love for Her, Zion. If I only could, if I can, I would have interpreted all the rituals of the temple of Solomon. As for me, I did not learn scriptures like Paul from Gemaliel.[114] I am a shepherd of sheep and goats and I am the least among all the brothers, and my sinful deed is as large as a Lebanese cedar.

(100) Let us come back to the matter which awaits us, about the temple which Solomon, the son of David, constructed, helped by Hiram, son of a widow, from the tribe of Naphtalim. As for his [Hiram's] father, he was a bronze smith and an excellent craftsman.[115] And Hiram was skilled like his father.

(101) In this way Solomon completed the building of the Temple of the Lord in a period of twenty[116] years. And he gathered all the elders of Israel to bring the Ark from the city of David, in the month of *Ǝtmin*.[117] And the priests transported the Ark, and also the tabernacle in which She was residing and all the ritual vessels of the Sanctuary. (102) The priests brought Her into the place of the king. All the troops who were following Her were praising, saying 'Zion has returned to Her place'. They seated Her in the Sanctuary, under the wings of the Cherub(im). There was nothing on the inside[118] of the Ark except the two tablets that Moses received from the hand of the Lord at Horeb.[119] (103) The Temple was covered with the glory of the Lord. King Solomon rejoiced and said 'Let the Lord God of Israel be blessed. Today is [the day] that He has spoken with His mouth and completed with His hands'. The King and all the Israelites offered a sacrifice to the Lord. (104) And Solomon made a feast on this day and he slaughtered twenty-two thousand oxen and a thousand of sheep[120] (for) the

114 Acts 22:3.

115 Cf. 1Kings 7:13–14.

116 Seven years for the Temple (1Kings 6:38) and thirteen years for his palace (1Kings 7:1), in total twenty years for construction (2Chron. 8:1–2).

117 Hebrew *Ethanim*. This is the seventh month in the Bible (cf. 1Kings 8:2, 2Chron. 5:3), equivalent to *Tishri*.

118 Gəʿəz ዝርዘ፡ , lit. 'belly'; surely an allusion to the womb of Mary.

119 1Kings 8:9, 2Chron. 5:10.

120 '… Sacrifice twenty two thousand oxen and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep' (1Kings 8:63, 2Chron. 7:5).

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consecration of the building of Zion and for the consecration of the house of the Lord. (105) All the Israelites celebrated the great feast with the King and with the congregation for seven days with joy and happiness. Then after eight days the people returned to their homes.

(106) The Lord revealed Himself to Solomon and said to him 'I have heard your prayer and; then I did what you desired and I sanctified this Temple which you built by your hand, and My name will be in it forever and ever'. ‡...‡ 'And similarly, O Lord, hear my entreaty'. (107) ‡...‡ 'As for you, if you walk in My Law as did your father David, I will establish your kingdom forever. But if you abandon My Law which I gave to My servant and turn back to the idols and worship them, then I will obliterate you from the face of the earth'. (108) And also, I will obliterate and cast away this Temple which has been sanctified in My name, from before My face. And for the Holy Zion, which I built and established by My hand, I will make Her the dwelling of My praise in the highest heavens.[121] And the angels will rejoice in splendor in Her courts saying 'Hallelujah' in all Her ways. (109) And similarly saying, 'The Lord God gave a promise to King Solomon regarding Holy Zion, the dwelling of His praise'. In this way, Zion, the true Ark of Law, dwelt in the building of Solomon. (110) Then Solomon, slept with his fathers after reigning for forty years. And he was buried in the city of David, his father.[122]

(111) After many years, about four hundred and twenty years after the holy city of Zion was built, during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, the people violated the Law of the Lord. They became wicked before Him, and they worshiped foreign gods. As for the words of the prophets, they did not observe them. (112) And the Lord was angry towards them due to this. And He commanded the king of Babylon and the Chaldeans[123] devastated their country and destroyed the Temple of Solomon. However, the Celestial and Holy Ark of Zion remained concealed and they could not find Her. The Tablet together with the Ten Commandments [were] in Her womb. (113) The whole country was captured and as for the holy bronze vessels, they were [also] captured. The four prophets: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and Ezra were captured. They wept and lamented for Zion.

121 1 Kings 9:3–7, 2 Chron. 7:12–18.

122 'And Rehoboam, his son reigned in his stead' (cf. 1 Kings 11:43, 2 Chron. 9:31).

123 Chaldeans are ancient Semitic people who lived in Chaldea in southern Babylonia, where they were the dominant ethnic group during the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

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(114) One amongst the prophet named Ezra[124] said: In the thirtieth year[125] after the destruction of our city, when I was in the country of Babylon,[126] I went out to the wilderness named Arfad[127] and I fasted for seven days. I did not eat and I did not drink wine. I did not taste meat absolutely but only the fruit of a tree. (115) I prayed to the highest and said 'O my Lord, who heard our fathers in the wilderness and desert and gave them your Law'. I prayed this and the like. (116) Then I saw with my eyes a woman on my right, who was weeping, mourning and wailing in a loud voice. She was suffering very much. Her clothes were torn and there were ashes on her head. Then I said to her 'What makes you weep?' And she replied to me 'Leave me alone, and let me weep for myself'. Then, I asked her 'What happened to you? Tell me'. And she said to me 'I was barren for a long time, although I was with [my] husband for thirty years. And I prayed to the Most High, and after thirty years the Lord heard me, His handmaiden. He saw my sorrow and gave me one son. I was happy with him. When he reached manhood, I got him a wife and I prepared a wedding feast. But when he entered the [bridal] chamber, he fell down and died. (117) I

124 Cf. 4 Ezra 3:1 ff. (Ethiopic **እዝራ፡ ሱቱኤል፡** *Ǝzra Sutu'el* 1:1 ff.). Shutt (1984: 927–931) discusses the different books of Ezra. The following note is a summary from his article: *1 Esdras* (Greek translation of a different recension of the Hebrew, based on 2 Chron. 35–36), also called *2 Ezra* (or *Esdras*) in the Latin Bible. *2 Esdras* is a completely independent work, identified in the Latin Bible as *4 Ezra* (or *Esdras*), and in the modern editions follows *3 Ezra*. The central part of the book (chapters 3–14) is preserved not only in Latin, but also in not less than seven Oriental versions; most scholars regard these chapters (3–14) as the original core written by a Jew in either Hebrew or Aramaic about the end of the first century AD, to which were added subsequently chapters 1–2 as an introduction and chapters 15–16 as a conclusion.

125 This gives us a clue to the date of composition of 4 Ezra. According to most scholars, the original Jewish document known today as 4 Ezra was composed about AD 100. This opinion rests upon a more or less plausible interpretation of the sentence 'In the thirtieth year after the destruction of our city'. Although this purports to be in the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 BC, this statement is arguably intended to allude cryptically to the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans in AD 70 (cf. Metzger 1983: 520).

126 With regard to the provenance of 4 Ezra, some scholars believe that it was written in Rome, which is what the book may mean by 'Babylon'. Nevertheless, the Semitic 'coloration' of the work rather suggests Palestine as the place of writing and publication of the Hebrew original (cf. Metzger 1983: 520).

127 Cf. 4 Ezra 9:26. Arfad is presented by Metzger (1983: 545, note j) as 'Ardat'. He also gives different variants in his footnote: 'Arpad' in the Syriac and Ethiopic versions; and 'Ardab' in Armenian.

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wept very much and I came to this desert place alone. I did not eat food but I mourned for my only son, I replied to her and said 'Your sorrow is done truly. We are also mourners and sorrowful, but you are sorrowful about your only son. Ask the earth and it will tell you'. I said to her 'Do not do like this'. (118) Do you not see Jerusalem? Our Temple has been destroyed and our song has been abolished, our glory has been silenced and our teaching has fallen. Our lamps have been put out and our priests have been taken captive. The greatest [loss] of all, Zion has been sealed and Her glory passed away. So let you shake off your grief about your only son'. And as I was saying this to her, her face lit up like the sun and like the appearance of lightning. I was afraid to approach her and my heart was terrified.

(119) When I looked at Her, She was not a woman, but like a city which was built up; its foundation was great and was very wide.[128] Then I cried out and said 'Where are you, Uriel, the angel, who came to me previously?' Then he came to me that time while I was like the dead sleeping. He held me in his right [hand], raised me up and caused me to stand upright and said to me 'why are you dismayed and why is your heart heavy?' (120) I replied to him 'When I saw this I become terrified. Only tell the interpretation of this to your servant'. He said to me 'Listen and I will tell you; for the Most High revealed [this] to you when He saw your righteousness, because you are deeply[129] sorrowful about Zion. And this is the matter. This woman whom you saw as a built-up city is Zion, who is at the right [hand] of the Most High, where she will be seated forever'.[130]

(121) And what She said to you, 'I was barren for thirty years': the world existed [for a long time] while there was no one who offered a sacrifice. And after 3000 years Solomon built the Temple. He sanctified [it], entered and

128 *Qälemenṭos* also briefly presents a vision similar to this one, as follows: **ወእዝራሂ፡ ርእያ፡ ከመ፡ እንተ፡ ብእሲት፡ ትክዝት፡ ወጎዝንት፡ እንዘ፡ ትበኪ፡ በእንተ፡ ደቂቃ። ወሶበ፡ ርእያ፡ ኢኮነት፡ ብእሲተ፡ አላ፡ ሀገር፡ መንፈሳዊት፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ መኃትዊሃ፡ ወመሳውሪሃ፡ ዘዲቤሃ፡ አዕጹቂሃ፡ ዘይት፡ ዘእምየማና፡ ወእምፀጋማ።** 'Anche Ezra la vide, come una donna triste e afflitta, piangeva per i suoi figli. Quando la vide, non era una donna, ma una città spirituale, la santa Sion. Le sue lampade e i suoi vasi che sono in essa, sono rami d'ulivo, dalla sua destra e dalla sua sinistra' (cf. Bausi 1992, text f. 60^{rb}; translation p. 106).

129 This phrase is attested only in MS [C]. It is substantiated by 4 Ezra 9:39.

130 Personification of Zion is a repeated phenomenon throughout the text of DṢ. In this instance we see Zion as mother of all. We can also read in 4 Ezra 10:7. This type of personification of 4 Ezra and that of DṢ is also attested in Pauline theology as 'But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother' (Gal. 4:26). For a general overview on this context, cf. Metzger 1983: 522.

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offered a sacrifice, the son whom She bore. What She said to you 'He fell down and died when he entered the [bridal] chamber, and I mourned', is the fall of Jerusalem. (122) And what He showed you because of your pain and the sorrow in your heart over Zion—what He showed you was the light of Her praise and the beauty of Her dignity. As for you, do not be fear and do not be dismayed. Look to Her light and the strength of Her righteousness. And as best you can hear, listen with your ear to Her songs, for your sorrow is great about Her. (123) And [when] Uriel told me this matter, I rejoiced was glad over Zion, which was built by the right hand of the Most High, said Ezra.[131] (124) Her essence is like this; and as for Her constitution, it is in the image of heaven. As for Her foundation, it is made of pearls of sapphire, Kärkäden,[132] with Aporgyon[133] and Sapphire,[134] and Her courts are of beryl. Angels and archangels were glorifying all around Her, saying 'Hallelujah, praise be to the Lord who elevated Zion over all the world'.

(125) As for me, like them I said 'Hallelujah, praise be to the pure dwelling of His Lamb. Hallelujah to Zion our Mother, adorned with praise. Hallelujah for the one who does not need the Sun to illuminate Her, and the light of His Lamb is shining inside Her'. (126) And now, my fathers [and] brothers, let us gather together to raise up a spiritual feast with incense and with offerings in devotional[135] praise for Our Lady, who is the throne of Divinity, tabernacle of the Lord who created heaven and earth, sun, moon and stars, who loved Her above all else. (127) And He said 'Here I will dwell for I have chosen and established Her'.[136] Come, let us celebrate and sing to the Queen of Queens ‡…‡,[137] who became the pride of all the world, who is in the entire world, through whom the Only Son was glorified, who is hidden from men and angels. Come, rejoice, delight and sing in the feast of Our Lady Mary, the true Ark of the Law, in whose womb are the Ten Commandments inscribed on the two tablets

131 Here MS [C] adds 'Ezra who is also called Sutu'el' (Ethiopic *Ǝzra Sutu'el* 1:1, 4 Ezra 3:1). The other manuscripts do not preserve it. The Ethiopic Sutu'el is 'Salathiel', which is the Greek *Salathiēl*, Hebrew *She'altiel*, the father of Zerubbabel (Ezra 3:2, Neh. 12:1; cf. Metzger 1983: 528).

132 Leslau (1987: 291) defines *Kärkäden* as either 'Jasper' or 'kind of wood'. Compare also Greek *Khalkēdṓn* 'chalcedony'.

133 Precious stone, cf. Dillmann (1865: 806).

134 Sanper, sofor 'sapphire' (cf. Leslau 1987: 489, 507).

135 'Devotion' **አስተርክዕ፡** is attested in the majority of the families against **አስተብርኮ፡** 'genuflection' of [δ]. Cf. Leslau 1987: 105 and 469.

136 Cf. Ps. 132:13–14.

137 Here, all the families show variant readings.

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by the finger of the Lord of Hosts. (128) Come, let us gather in Her courts and praise [Her] together with Her people saying: 'I was glad when they said to me 'Let us go to the house of the Lord!' Our feet have stood within your courts, O Jerusalem! As for Jerusalem, she is built as a city'.[138] For she is the inheritance of the saints, the new city, where saints look forward to Her coming, those who have cleansed themselves, over whom She will reign forever and forever.

(129) In the same manner, o Zion, may You reign over Holy Jerusalem, in which She is the liberator in the highest. The True Bride of the Lamb, whom the faithful are awaiting, who are the martyrs and the righteous, prophets and apostles, priests and deacons, men and women, and all children, who pleased the Most High with the toil of their struggle.

(130) And let Him bestow Her also to us, together with them, when Zion, the celestial Temple shall reign. Let us rejoice in a new wedding forever and ever. In the same way, let you gladden your servant [PN][139] for eternity, Amen. (131) And again, listen to me so that I can tell you what the prophet said about the story of celestial Zion. 'During the second [year][140] in the reign of King Darius[141] the word of the Lord came to me. In the eighth month, an angel came to me and raised me up from sleep like this. Then, I saw a lamp-stand with seven lamps and seven covers[142] in which they place their hope in Her,[143] with two olive trees to Her right and Her left'. (132) 'In the eighth month, I saw the twofold Virgin, our Lady Mary in the image of Holy Zion' said the Prophet Zechariah.[144]

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138 Cf. Ps. 122:1–3. The Hebrew text reads 'Jerusalem, built as a city which was all (solidly) bound together'.

139 Half of the families give here the names of those who commissioned the manuscript. [K] and [Q] have the name Zäwäldä Mariam, [A] says Wäldä Giyorgis and Wälättä Ṣadəq, [T] has Awalədä Nəgəśt, while [S] says Hablä (sic). The format [PN] for 'personal name' is already applied in Marrassini (2003) in his critical edition of *Gädlä Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus*. He applies the Italian abbreviation NP = *nome di persona* 'Personal name'.

140 The bible (Zechariah 1:1) says 'the second year'. DṢ adds the word **ወርኀ፡** 'month' (thus: 'the second month year') which makes no sense and contradicts 'the eighth month' below. Only MS [C] does not add **ወርኀ፡** .

141 King Darius (558?–486 BC), the Achaemenids was king of Persia (522–486 BC); also called 'Darius the Great'.

142 Gəʿəz **መሳውር፡** is translated here as 'covers', but (spelled **መሣውር፡**) it can also mean 'funnel'. This would fit the Hebrew *Muṣaqot* 'pipes (for oil)' much better (Zechariah 4:2).

143 The translation 'in which they place their hope in Her', reflecting the Gəʿəz **በዘይሴፈውዋ፡** , is hard to understand. The alternative reading **በዘይሴወርዋ፡** (attested in MS [C]) makes much better sense: 'with which they cover Her'.

144 Zechariah 4:2 ff. For a detailed treatment of the Hymn of Zechariah on Zion, cf. Grohmann 1919: 195–200 and Paulos 1988: 88–89.

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As for its explanation, it is like this: the golden pedestal is our Lady Mary who is Zion, the Ark of the Law of the Covenant, for whose feast day we have gathered today. (133) As for Her lamps, they are the seven churches,[145] built in the image of Jerusalem in the highest. And Her covers are the seven governors of the church. And the two olive trees are children of the Ark. All the prophets praised and gave thanks to Zion, the golden ship.[146] As for myself, I shall speak without lies. When I ponder in my heart and praise Her, there is a turbulence in my throat like a caldron, and the member of my body burn.

(134) If I found paper and ink to write, in all my life until I sleep like my fathers I would not be able to complete the praise of Queen of heavens and earth, our Mother, who is Our Lady Mary. (135) So, I will only write you a little, according to my ability, so that you may hear and be confirmed by it on the feast of our Lady Saint Mary, the twofold Virgin, Mother of God, the celestial Zion.[147] (136) The homily, which is read in the month of *Kanun*[148] on the twenty—first of the

145 Cf. Revelation 1:20.

146 Ship has various allegories in Ethiopian Hermeneutics. According to the book of *Sä'atat* (cf. Täsfa 1996/1997 [EC 1989]: 122) Lord **Jesus** is described as **ሐመርነ፡ ዘኢ.ይቀርቦ፡ ሞገድ።** 'Our Ship whom the tempest does not approach'. The *Epistle of Clement* mentions the Church as a Ship. Bausi (1992: 26) states it with other related elements in the introductory part of his translation of *Qälemenṭos*: 'La Chiesa è come una nave; Cristo è il nocchiero; la gerarchia ecclesiastica corrisponde all'equipaggio; il mare è il mondo, e le tempeste i suoi pericoli; la nave conduce nel porto di salvezza', 'The Church is like a Ship; Christ is its helmsman; the church hierarchy corresponds to its crew; the sea is the world, and the storm is its dangers; the ship leads to the port of Salvation' (translation, mine). Similarly, 'Ethiopian *Didascalia*' (edited by Pell Platt 1834 and later by Harden 1920) reads: **እስመ፡ ዲያቆናትሰ፡ ከመ፡ ነዋትያት፡ ወቤተ፡ ክርስቲያንሂ፡ ከመ፡ ሐመር።** 'For the deacons are like the sailors, and the church like a ship' (trans. by Harden 1920: 74, quoted from Bausi 1992: 27). KN ch. 113 describes St. Mary as the Port of Salvation. For discussion of the Ark of the Church, cf. Bausi, on *navis ecclesiae* (1992: 24–32). Early Christians also used an anchor in the catacombs and in the cemeteries as a symbol of the hope in the promise of the future life, cf. Baruffa n.d. 9; Nicolai et al. 2002: 70, 150; cf. also Getachew Meressa 2010: 61–71.

147 The reading of MS [C] finishes here.

148 *Kanun* (also *känun*) is a Syriac month; also Christian Arabic—*Kanun*—in the expression 'first *Kanun* = December, second *Kanun* January' (cf. Leslau 1987: 288; Getatchew 2000/2001 [EC 1993]: 120). But the Ethiopic usage of the term is apparently extended here to *Ḫədar* (November), or we can imagine that 21st of *Ḫədar* sometimes, every four years, will be exactly the 1st day of December, and the rest in every 29/30 of November. On the other hand, Hammerschmidt (1977: 78) states that putting the two months as one is erroneous. His text goes as follows: 'Die Gleichsetzung dürfte ein Irrtum sein, da der 21. Ḫedār überhaupt erst (und allein) in einem Johannesjahr des Zeitraumes von 1900 bis 2100 AD auf den 1. Kānūn al-awwal (= 1. Dezember greg.) fällt'.

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month of *Ḫədar*,[149] is [now] completed, by the peace of the Lord the Father, Amen; and with the help of the Son, Amen; and by the will of the Lord the Holy Spirit, the Advocate,[150] Amen.

(137) May the blessings of Her prayer and the gift of Her help and Her love, our Mother Zion, the Ark of the Law, who is our Lady Mary, the glory of children and elders, be with [PN],[151] who believes in Her unceasingly, in order to save him from the hand of wicked death, together with [PN][152] ‡…‡ together forever and ever Amen.[153]

(138) For the one who commissioned and interpreted this homily, and for him who wrote it and caused it to written, may the Lord grant them mercy on the Day of Judgment, together with all Christian children of baptism, whose confidence is in Zion, and whose faith is in the Holy Trinity, ancient of days. [He is] Man like us, but without sin, Light from the Light. And together with its poor scribe, whose sin is great, and together with the children of this place. And may God let them all hear His word of mercy, on the feast day of our Lady Mary, forever and ever, Amen.

(139) O Zion my mother, pay back my own sins and trespasses. And write my name in a column of light,[154] Your sinful and despised servant [PN][155] devoid

149 DṢ ‘proper’ [136] and miracle of DṢ in [F], f. 24ʳ. state why *Ḫədar* 21 is celebrated. The text goes as follows: **ወበዛቲ፡ ዕለት፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለጎዳር፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ተመይጦታ፡ እምኀበ፡ ፄወውዋ፡ ኀበ፡ ቤታ። ወዳግም፡ ምጽአታ፡ ኀበ፡ ምድረ፡ አክሱም። ወበእንተዝ፡ ያብዕሉ፡ ላቲ፡ በዓለ፡ ዓቢየ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለለወርኁ። ወፈድፋደሰ፡ አመ፡ ፳ወ፩፡ ለጎዳር።** ‘On this day, 21st of *Ḫədar*, it was her first return from captivity to her home; and it is her second coming to the land of Axum. Therefore, [it is praiseworthy] to celebrate the great feast to Her every 21st day of the month, and especially on *Ḫədar* 21’.

150 Lit. ‘Ṗaraqlitos’.

151 Here some families of the manuscripts list the name of the scribe and the commissioner.

152 Some manuscripts [Sξ] say ‘the scribe’, some [ε] ‘his relatives’, two witnesses [A and F] ‘his fathers’ and ‘Zion’ respectively.

153 These lines are composed in verse as in the form of *arke* or *sälam*.

154 ‘Column of light’ is a common theme in the Ethiopian hagiographical tradition. This is the state of eternal life and holiness. When St. Mary was speaking to St. Ephrem, it was in ‘column of light’ and ‘curtain of light’ (cf. *Commentary of Praise of Mary*, published by the EOTC 1932/1933 [EC 1925]). When St. Bəsṭawros was praying, the sky was opened and the column of light was established (cf. Amsalu Tefera 2006: f. 22ʳ, p. 58 (text), p. 84 (trans.), Amsalu Tefera 2010: 13, p. 7 (text), p. 23 (trans.)). *Gädlä Abrəha* and *Aṣbəḥa* states that a column of light suddenly arose when Lord Jesus appeared, collected some soil and poured it out where the city of Axum now stands, drying up the marsh; (quoted from Chiari, 2009: 108). For the general trend of Ethiopian saints in the column of light, cf. Marrassini 1981: xcvii.

155 The name of the commissioner(s) is mentioned in some families (K and T).

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of understanding and skill, and together with all of us the hearers, forever and ever, Amen and Amen; let it be, let it be.[156]

156 Here the majority of the families (S, ε, ξ, λ = α) complete the DṢ 'proper'. On the other hand, sub-archetype β (δ and A) continues with KN 'proper' saying: **በእኩቴቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ አ፟ንዜ፡ ኵሉ። ወበወልዱ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ዘቦቱ፡ ኵሉ፡ ኮነ፡ ወዘእንበሌሁሰ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘኮነ። ወበመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘይወጽእ፡ እምአብ።**. For discussion and comparative study of DṢ and KN, cf. Amsalu Tefera 2009 and Amsalu Tefera 2014a.

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CHAPTER 6

News, Miracles and Effigies of Zion

This chapter contains *Zena Ṣəyon* (the story of the Ark), *Tä'ammərä Ṣəyon* (miracles performed by Zion) and *Mälkə'a Ṣəyon* (effigy of Zion). *Zena Ṣəyon*, the story and glory of Zion which is preserved in [D] and [K], presents various Mary-Zion similitudes. The texts state that the veneration and glory of Zion Mary is incomparable whether by the celestials or terrestrials. Different miracles performed by Zion are presented in [F] and [P]. The story of how the Ark of the Covenant was given to Moses at Mt. Sinai and how it was venerated and safeguarded by Israelite religious figures (Judges and Kings), then how it reached Ethiopia, is discussed by [F]. This text also presents many OT episodes as the miraculous acts of Zion. The printed text [P] lists eight miracles, including the popular 'coffee story'. It basically propagates the mighty deeds of the Ark and the ethical teachings of Christianity. We find the effigies of Zion (*Mälkə'a Ṣəyon*) on the final pages of [P]. Every text with translation will be presented successively. As MSS [A], [B] and [P] form a separate family [β], they have in common a long colophon.[1]

1 *Zena Ṣəyon* 'News of Zion'—NL 630 [D] and EMML 8429 [K][2]

1.1 *Text*

ዓዲ፡ እጽሕፍ፡ ዜና፡ ዕበያ፡ ወክብራ፡ ወውዳሴሃ፡ ወንግሣ፡ ለጽዮን[3]፡ እንዘ፡ እብል[4]፡ መኑ፡ ይክል፡ ይትናገር፡ ክብራ፡ ለደብተራ፡ ዘገብረ[5]፡ ሙሴ፡ በ(D59^{va})ደብ(K18^{ra})ረ፡ ሲና። ገብራ፡ በስብሐት፡ በከመ፡ ነገሮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወአርአዮ፡ ዅሎ፡ ምሳሌያተ፡ ሰማያዊተ። አሮን፡ ወደቂቁ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ተልዕኩ[6]፡ ውስቴታ፡ በአምሳለ፡ መልዕልት፡ ወጽላት፡ ሰማያዊት። አስተማሰልዋ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም[7]፡ በደብተራ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘእግዚአብሔር፡ ውስቴታ።

1 Cf. Amsalu Tefera 2014b.

2 Texts [D] and [K] share many things in common; hence they form a family [ε]. They contain the *Zena Ṣəyon* 'News of Zion' which I presented here.

3 ለታቦት፡ አምላክ፡ እስራኤል፡ adds K.

4 ይብል፡ D.

5 ዘገብራ፡ K.

6 ተልዕክ፡ D.

7 ድንግል፡ adds K.

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በእንተዝ፡ ዘበአማን፡ በስብሐተ፡ ትንቢት፡ ተናገሩ፡ በእንቲአኪ፡ በምግባራት፡ ክቡራት[8]፡ እስመ፡ ሀገሩ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ዐቢይ[9]፡ አንቲ፡ አ፡ ቅድስት፡ ጽዮን። ንሕነኒ፡ ንስእል፡ ወናስተበቁዕ፡ ኀቤኪ፡ ከመ፡ ንርከብ፡ (D59^{vb}) ምሕረተ፡ በስእለትኪ፡ በኀበ፡ መፍቀሬ፡ (K18^{rb}) ሰብእ፡ መኑ፡ ይትናገር፡ ክብረ፡ ዚአኪ፡ አ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ደብተራ፡ ⸢ቅድስተ፡ ቅዱሳን⸣[10]፡ ዘሙሴ፡ ርእሰ፡ ነቢያት። ወረሰየ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ሰማዕታተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጽላተ፡ ኪዳን፡ ወትእዛዛት[11]። ወተጽሕፉ[12]፡ ውስቴቶሙ፡ ፲፡ ቃላት፡ ዘውእቶሙ፡ ስሙ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ። ወውእቱ፡ በየውጣ፡ ዘከመ፡ ይቤ፡ በመጽሐፍ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ተሰብአ፡ እምኔኪ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ውላጤ። ወወለድኪዮ፡ ወአንጽሐነ፡ እምኃጣውኢነ። በእንተዝ፡ ኮሉ፡ ነፍሰ፡ ደቂቀ፡ (D60^{ra}) ፳ኤል[13]። አምጽኡ፡ አምኃ[14]፡ ለደብተራ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወርቀ፡ ወብሩረ፡ ወዕብነ፡ ዘ(K18^{va})በአማን፡ ሜላተ፡ ወሐረ[15]። ገብሩ፡ ታቦተ፡ እምዕፅ፡ ዘኢይነቅዝ። ወልቡጥ፡ በአፍአ፡ ወበውስጥ[16]። አንቲ[17]፡ ይእቲ፡ አ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ ልቡጥ፡ በስብሐተ፡ መለኮት፡ በአፍአ፡ ወበውሳጤ[18]። እስመ፡ አግባዕኪ[19]፡ ሕዝበ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ለወልድኪ፡ አምላከ፡ በንጽሕናኪ። አንቲ፡ ታቦተ፡ ኪዳን፡ አ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ ፍጽምት፡ ዘአግበርዋ፡ እምዕፅ፡ ዘኢይነቅዝ፡ ልቡጥ፡ በወርቅ፡ እምአፍአ፡ ወውስጥ። እግ(D60^{rb})ዚአብሔር፡ መድኃኒነ፡ ሶበ፡ ተሰብአ፡ እምኔኪ፡ በብሑትና፡ ዘኢይትነገር፡ ባቲ፤ በፈቃዱ፡ ዕሩይ፡ ምስሌነ፡ በከመ፡ ሰብእ። [ወ]ዕሩይ፡ ምስለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በባሕ(K18^{vb})ርየ፡ መለኮቱ። ፭፡ መለኮት፡ ተሰብአ፡ በከመ፡ ህላዌሁ። በእንተዝ፡ ፪፡ ኪሩቤል፡ እምወርቅ፡ ገብርዎሙ፡ ይጸልሉ፡ ላዕለ፡ ምሥዋዕ፡ በክነፊሆሙ፡ ኮሎ፡ ጊዜ፡ ላዕለ፡ ቅድስተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ውስተ፡ ዳግም፡ ደብተራ። ወካዕበ፡ አንቲ፡ አ፡ ማርያም፡ ፴አዕላፋት፡ ወትእልፊተ[20]፡ አዕላፋት፡ ይጼልኪ፡ ወትረ። ወይሴብሑ፡ ለ(D60^{va})ፈጣሪሆሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ውእቱ፡ ውስተ፡ ከርሥኪ። ወውእቱ፡ ነሥአ፡ አምሳሊነ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ውላጤ። አፉሆሙ፡ ለጠቢባን፡ መተርጉማን፡ ይትናገሩ፡ በእንተ፡ ክብርኪ። አ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ አስተማሰሉኪ፡ በምሥዋዕ፡ ዘይጼልሉ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ኪሩቤል። ዘውእቱ፡ (K19^{ra}) በከመ፡ ትርጓሜሁ፡ ዘይጼውዑ፡ መካነ፡ ኅድገተ፡ አበሳ፡ ወኃጣውኢነ። ለኪ፡ ይደሉ፡ ከመ፡ ንጸውዕ፡ ስመኪ። መሶበ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘመና፡ ኅቡዕ፡ ውስቴቱ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ረሰዮ[21]፡ ውስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ ስምዕ፡ ለደ(D60^{vb})ቂቀ፡ ፳ኤል[22]፡ በእንተ፡ ዘአክበሮሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ በደብረ፡ ሲና። አንቲ፡ ካዕበ፡

8 ክብርት፡ DK.
9 om. D.
10 ቅድስት፡ ቅድስት፡ D.
11 ወትእዛዘት፡ D.
12 ዘተጽሕፉ፡ K.
13 እስራኤል፡ K.
14 om. D.
15 ወሐሪረ፡ DK.
16 ወውስጥ፡ K.
17 እንተ፡ D.
18 ወውሳጤ፡ K.
19 አግባኪ፡ D.
20 ወትእልተ፡ D.
21 ረሰዮ፡ add D.
22 ፳ራኤል፡ D.

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አ፡ ማርያም፡ ጾርኪ፡ በውስተ[23]፡ ከርሥኪ፡ መና፡ ልቡና፡ ዘወጽአ፡ እምአብ። ወወለድኪዮ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ደነስ። ወወሀበነ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ቅዱሰ፡ ወደሞ፡ ክቡረ። ወአሕየወነ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም። በመሶበ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘአንበርዎሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ አስተማሰሉኪ፡ አ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘነበረ፡ ውስቴትኪ፡ መና፡ ኅቡዕ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ኢየሱ(19[rb])ስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ኅብስተ፡ ሕይወት። ዘበልዐ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወሰትየ፡ ደ(D61[ra])ሞ[24]፡ ይትፈሣሕ፡ ዘለዓለም። ኵሉ፡ ሠራዊት፡ ዘመልዕልት፡ ኢይክሉ፡ ይመስሉ፡ ኪያኪ፡ አ፡ ተቅዋም፡ ዘወርቅ፡ እስመ፡ ጾርኪ፡ ብርሃን፡ ዘበአማን። ለይእቲ፡ ገብርዋ፡ እምወርቅ፡ ጽሩይ[25]። ወአንበርዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ደብተራ፡ ወገብርዋ[26]፡ እምእደ፡ ሰብእ። ወይወድዩ፡ ቅብዓ፡ ውስተ፡ መሐትዊሃ፡ መዓልተ፡ ወሌሊተ፡ ዘውስተ፡ ከርሥኪሰ፡ አ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ አብርሃ፡ ለኵሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ ዘይመጽእ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም። እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ፀሐየ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወወለድኪዮ፡ ወአንጽሐነ፡ እ(D61[rb])ምኃጣውኢነ። ስብሐትኪ፡ ይትሌዓል፡ አ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግ(19[va])ል፡ ወይፈደፍድ፡ እምተቅዋም[27]፡ ዘወርቅ፡ እንተ፡ ጾረት፡ ፯፡ መሐትዋት። ዘገብሩ፡ ምቅዋማቲሃ፡ ወአጽናፊሃ፡ እምወርቀ፡ ህንደኬ፡ ክቡር። ወብርሃና፡ ያበርኅ፡ መዓልተ፡ ወሌሊተ፡ ወምሉዕ፡ ቅብዕ፡ ውስተ፡ መሃትዊሃ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ጽርዓት። በአማን፡ አንቲ፡ አ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ተቅዋም፡ ዘወርቅ፡ ብርሃነ፡ መለኮት፡ ዘምሉዕ፡ ውስቴትኪ፡ ፀዳለ፡ ቅዱሰ[28]። አብርሃ፡ ላዕሌነ፡ ለእለ፡ ንነብር፡ ውስተ፡ ጽልመት፡ ወጽላሎተ፡ (D61[va]) ሞት። አማን፡ በአማን፡ ኢይኤብስ፡ በምንትኒ፡ ለእመ፡ ሰመይኩኪ[29]፡ ማዕጠንተ፡ ወርቅ[30]፡ እስመ፡ ባቲ፡ ዘኮነ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ማዕጠንት፡ ኅሩይ፡ በቅድመ፡ ቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ከመ፡ ያእትት፡ እ(K19[vb])ግዚአብሔር፡ ኃጣውኦ፡ ሰብእ፡ እምኅበ፡ ቀዳባናት፡ ወጼና፡ ማዕጠንታት። ወአንቲ፡ አ፡ ማርያም፡ ካዕበ፡ ጾርኪ፡ በከርሥኪ፡ ዘኢያስተርኢ፡ ቃለ፡ አብ። ዘአዕረገ፡ ርእሶ፡ መሥዋዕተ፡ ውክፍተ፡ ዲበ፡ ዕፀ፡ መስቀል፡ በእንተ፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ዘመድነ። ሠናይኪ፡ መዓዛኪ፡ አ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ (D61[vb]) ወይፈደፍድ፡ እምኵሉ፡ ጼና፡ ስሒን፡ እስመ፡ ኮንኪ[31]፡ በአማን፡ ማዕጠንት፡ ዘወርቅ። ወጾርኪ፡ ዕፍረተ፡ ሰማያዌ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ መርዓዊ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ፄና፡ መዓዛሁ፡ መልዓ፡ ውስተ፡ ኵሉ፡ መካን። ወራዙት፡ ነሥኡ[32]፡ ፄና፡ ሠናያተ። እሎንቱ፡ ደናግል፡ ዘአፍቀራ፡ ንጽሕና፡ ኮና፡ ለኪ፡ አ(K20[ra])ዋልደ። አ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ‡...‡ በስነ፡ ትሩፋቲሆሙ፡ በበትረ፡ አሮን፡ እንተ፡ ሠረፀት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ተክል፡ ወኢሠቀይዋ፡ ማየ። ወውእቱ[33]፡ ተመሰልኪ፡ አ፡ ወላዲተ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ አምላክነ፡ ዘበአማን። (D62[ra]) እንዘ፡ አንቲ[34]፡ ድንግልት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ዘርዓ፡ ብእሲ፡

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23 በእንተ፡ D.
24 ደሙ፡ D.
25 ኅሩይ፡ DK.
26 ገብርዋ፡ K.
27 እምተቅዋ፡ D.
28 ቅዱስ፡ K.
29 ሰመኩኪ፡ D.
30 ዘወ' D.
31 om. D.
32 'አ፡ D.
33 ዘውእቱ፡ K.
34 om. D.

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መጽአ፡ ወአድኀነነ። ተሠመይኪ፡ ፍቅርተ፡ አ፡ ቅድስት፡ ማርያም፡ እስመ፡ ኮንኪ፡ ዳግሚተ፡ ደብተራ፡ እንተ፡ ለቅድሳት፡ ዘአንበሩ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ዕፀ፡ አሮን፡ ወጽጌ፡ ንጽሕት፡ ዘለዕጣን፡ ወልብስኪ፡ ንጽሕና[35]፡ ዘአፍአ፡ ወውስጥ፡ አ፡ ጽዮን፡ ደብተራ፡ ቅድስት፡ ማኅደሮሙ፡ ለጻድቃን። ሠራዊተ፡ ልዑላን፡ ይሴብሑኪ[36]፡ በኢጽርዓት። ተሠመይኪ፡ አ፡ ማርያም፡ (K20^{rb}) ድንግል፡ ጽጌ፡ ቅድሳት፡ ዘለዕጣን፡ ዘፀገየት፡ ወሠረፀት፡ እምሥርወ፡ ሊቃውንት፡ ወነቢያት። ወከመ፡ በ(D62^{rb})ትረ፡ አሮን፡ ካህን፡ ዘሠረፀት፡ ወጾረት፡ ፍሬ። እስመ፡ ወለድኪ፡ ቃለ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ዘርዓ፡ ብእሲ፡ ወኢማሰነ፡ ድንግልናኪ። ይእዜሰ፡ እለ፡ አመነ፡ ከመ፡ አንቲ፡ እሙ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ዘወለድኪዮ፡ ወነበርኪ[37]፡ ድንግልተ[38]። ወነአምን፡ ካዕበ፡ እስመ፡ ለኪ፡ ይደሉ፡ ትስአሊ፡ በእንቲአነ፡ አ፡ ምልዕተ፡ ጸጋ፡ እስመ፡ ረከብኪ፡ ሞገሰ፡ በቅድመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ፈድፋደ፡ እምሊቃውንት፡ ወነቢያት። ወካዕበ፡ በዘይደሉ፡ ሰአሊ፡ በእንቲአነ፡ እስመ፡ ክብርኪ፡ ይፈደፍድ፡ እምሱራፌ(K20^{va})ል። ወካዕበ፡ አንቲ፡ (D62^{va}) አ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ በአማን፡ መስተብቍዒት[39]፡ ለኵልነ። ሰአሊ፡ በእንቲአየ[40]፡ ቅድመ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ፍቍር፡ ከመ፡ ያጽንአኒ፡ በርትዕት፡ ሃይማኖት[41]። ወይጸግወኒ፡ ስርየተ፡ ኃጢአት[42]። ወለኵሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ይትአመኑ፡ ኪያኪ፡ ወይገብሩ፡ ተዝካረኪ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም።

ኵሎሙ፡ አዕላፈ፡ መላእክት፡ ወሊቃነ፡ መላእክት፡[43] ወኵሉ፡ ስም፡ ዘይሠመይ፡ ኢይበጽሑ፡ ኀበ፡ ብፅዓንኪ፡ አ፡ ዑፅፍት፡ በስብሐተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጸባዖት። ወጸዳልኪ፡ ይበርህ፡ እምፀሐይ፡ ምዕልፊተ። ወክብርኪ፡ ይፈደ(D62^{vb})ፍድ፡ እምኪሩቤል፡ ወሱ(K20^{vb})ራፌል፡ እለ፡ ፮፡ ክነፊሆሙ፡ ያንዘፈዝፉ፡ ላዕሌኪ፡ በሐሴት። ስብሐትኪ፡ ይትሌዓል፡ ጥቀ፡ እምሰማይ፡ ወክብርኪ፡ እምድር፡ ወእምእለ፡ የሐድሩ፡ ውስቴታ። አንቲ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ተንከተም፡ ዘትበጽሕ፡ እስከ፡ ሰማይ። ለበስኪ፡ ትፍሥሕተ፡ አ፡ ወለተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወከደንኪዮ[44]፡ ለአዳም፡ ልብሰ፡ ጸጋ፡ ወአግባዕኪዮ፡ ዳግመ፡ ኀበ፡ ገነተ፡ ትፍሥሕት። ደብተራ፡ ይእቲ፡ በአማን፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ ዘአንበሩ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ሰማዕታተ፡ ጽድቅ። ወይእቲ፡ ታቦት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ደነስ። ልቡጥ፡ በወርቅ፡ እምኵ(D63^{ra})ለሄ፡ ገበዋቲሁ፡ ለምሥዋዕ፡ ኪሩባዊ። መሶበ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘመና፡ ኀቡዕ፡ ውስቴቱ። ወውእቱ፡ ቃ(21ra)ለ[45]፡ አብ፡ ወጽአ፡ በሥጋ፡ እምኔኪ። ተቅዋመ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘትፀውር፡ ብርሃነ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘውእቱ[46]፡ ብርሃነ፡ ዓለም፡[47] ዘኢይቀርቦ፡ ጽልመት። ወማዕጠንት፡ ወርቅ፡ ዘትጸውር፡ ፍሕመ፡ እሳት፡ ወዕጣን፡ ኅሩይ። ውስቴታ፡ በትር፡ ዘጽጌ፡ ዘጾረት፡ ፍሬ። ወጽጌ፡ ንጽሕት፡ ለዘዕፍረት። እሎንቱ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ አመሩኑ፡ ወሊዶተኪ፡ አ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም።

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35 ንጽሕኪ፡ D.
36 ይሴብኪ፡ D.
37 ዘነበርኪ፡ D.
38 'ል፡ D.
39 'ዓት፡ D.
40 ሊተ፡ ለኃጥእ፡ ገብርኪ፡ ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ add K.
41 om. D.
42 ኃጣውኢነ D.
43 መላክት፡ K.
44 ወከደንኪ፡ K.
45 ቃል፡ D.
46 ዝውእቱ፡ K.
47 ።D.

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መንክረ፡ (D63^{rb}) ወመድምመ፡ አሰርጎከ፡ ነፍሳቲነ፡ ኦ፡ ሙሴ፡ ነቢይ፡ በክብረ፡ ደብተራ፡ ዘአሠርጎከ፡ ቀዳሚተ። ገብራ፡ ማኅደረ፡ ሥርየት፡ ለደቂቀ፡ ፭ኤል[48]፡ በከመ፡ ነገሮ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ኵሎ፡ ምሳሌያተ፡ ዘአርአዮ፡ ሎቱ። መኑ፡ ይክል፡ ይትና(K21^{rb})ገር፡ ክብራ፡ ለደብተራ፡ ዘአሠርገዋ፡ ሙሴ፡ ነቢይ። ወሶበ፡ ርእዩ፡ መምሕራን፡ ክቡራን፡ [ዘጸሐፉ፡] መጻሕፍተ፡[49] አንከሩ፡ ጥቀ፡ ወኅለዩ፡ በልቦሙ፡ ወተርጐሙ፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወሠመይዋ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ወለተ፡ ኢያ(D63^{va})ቄም፡ ወሐና፡ ደብተራ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘእግዚአብሔር፡ ጸባዖት። ወአስተማሰሉ፡ ታቦተ፡ በድንግል፡ ወወርቀ፡ ኅሩየ፡ በድንግልናሃ፡ ወምሥዋዓ፡ በድንግልናሃ። ወኪሩቤል፡ በስብሐት፡ ይጼልል፡ ላዕሌሃ። መሶበ፡ ወርቅኒ፡ በድንግል። ኅመር[50]፡ ወመና፡ በመድኃኒነ። ወተቅዋም፡ ዘወርቅ፡ በቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን። ወ፯ መሐትው[51]፡ ላዕለ፡ ፯፡ ሠራዊት፡ ወማዕጠንተ፡ ወርቅ፡ በድንግል። ወዕጣ(K21^{va})ነ፡ በአማኑኤል። ወበትረ፡ አሮን፡ በዕፀ፡ መስቀል፡ ዘተሰቅለ[52]፡ ቡቱ፡ ፍቁር፡ ጽጌ፡ ማኅፀና፡(D63^{vb}) ወማዕደ፡ ምሥዋዕ፡ በማኅፀና፤ ወኅብስተ፡ ቊርባን፡ በሥጋሁ። ወሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ በእግዚእነ፡ ሠዋዒ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ዘሥዓ፡ ርእሶ፡ በእንተ፡ ኃጣውኢነ። መሥዋዕተ፡ ውክፍተ፡ በዲበ፡ መስቀል። ወተወክፎ፡ ኅቤሁ፡ ኄር፡ በኅልኀታ፡ በጊዜ፡ ሠርክ። አርሐወ፡ አንቀጸ፡ ገነት። ወሜጦ፡ ለአዳም፡ ኅበ፡ መንበሩ፡ ዳግመ፡ ምዕረ። እምኅበ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ አእመርነ፡ ቊርባነ፡ ለሥርየተ፡ ኃጣውኢነ። በረከታ፡ ወሀብተ፡ ረድኤታ፡ ወሞገሰ፡ ስማ፡ ወምሕረተ፡ ፍቁር፡ ወልዳ፡ (D64^{ra}) የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ (K21^{vb}) ⌜ጸሐፈሃ፡ ወልደ፡ ሩፋኤል፡ ወምስለ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ ሰማዕያን፡ ወአንባብያን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። ተፈጸመ፡ ድርሳነ፡ ጽዮን፡ በ1977ዓ.ም. ወጸሐፊሁኒ፡ ቁስ፡ ገላው፡ ቢያድግልኝ፡ ዘጎንደር[53]። (D64^{rb})

1.2 *Translation*

Once again, I will write the news of the greatness, honor, praise and majesty of Zion saying 'Who shall be able to speak the honor of the Tabernacle that Moses made on Mount (**D59**^{va}) (**K18**^{ra}) Sinai?' He made her in praise as the Lord told him, and He showed him all the heavenly parables. Aaron, his sons and himself [Moses] were serving inside her in the example of the above and the celestial tablets. They compared her to our Lady Mary in the [True] Tabernacle inside which the Lord truly is. Therefore, they speak truly about you with praise of prophecy, glorious in Your deeds, for you are the city of the great King, O Holy Zion! For us, let us seek and entreat You in order that we may receive (**D59**^{vb}) mercy by Your entreaty from the Beloved of (**K18**^{rb}) mankind. Who shall speak your honor, O our Lady Mary Zion, the holy Tabernacle, the holy of holies of Moses the head of the prophets? He placed the Tablets of the

48 እስራኤል፡ K.

49 ።D.

50 ኀመር፡ K.

51 መሐትወ፡ D.

52 ዘተቅለ፡ D.

53 ገብራ፡ ዘወልደ፡ ማርያም፡ ወምስለ፡ ኵሎሙ።። K.

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Covenant 'Martyrs of the Lord' inside her. And on them were inscribed the Ten Commandments which are the name[s] of Jesus Christ. And He is in Iota,[54] as it says in the Holy Scriptures 'He was incarnated from You without change. And You gave Him birth, and He purified us from our sins'. Therefore, every one of the children (**D6o^{ra}**) of Israel brought a gift of gold, silver and precious[55] stones; (**K18^{va}**) purple and silk for the Tabernacle of the Lord. They made the Ark from incorruptable wood; and it was overlaid outside and inside. O Virgin Mary, You [too] are overlaid by the praise of Divinity outside and inside; for You brought many people to Your Son God, in Your Purity. O Perfect Virgin Mary, You [are] the Ark of the Covenant, made of incorruptible wood, overlaid with gold outside and inside. When the Lord our Savior (**D6o^{rb}**) was incarnated from you with inexpressible power, by His own will He was equal with us as a man, and equal to the Lord in His Divine (**K18^{vb}**) nature. He was incarnated as one Divinity in His essence. Two Cherubim made of gold give shelter over the sacrifice with their wings continually, over the Holy of Holies inside the second Tabernacle. Once more, You O Mary! ten thousands and thousands of thousands [angels] are hovering over You continually; they were praising their Creator (**D6o^{va}**) while He was [still] in Your womb. He took our image without change. The mouths of wise interpreters speak about Your glory. O Mary Zion, they compared You to an altar with Cherubim hovering over it. This is (**K19^{ra}**) according to the interpretation [that] they call the place: 'remission of our transgreesions and sins'. It is fitting that we invoke Your name, (You) the golden basket with the Manna hidden in it. And he placed it ‡…‡ inside the Tabernacle as a testimony to the children (**D6o^{vb}**)of Israel regarding what the Lord God had honored them with on Mt. Sinai. And again, O Mary, You bore the Manna inside Your womb, intelligence which went forth from the Father; and You gave birth to Him without impurity; and He gave us His Holy Flesh and Glorious Blood; and He gave us eternal life. O Mary Zion, they compared You with the golden basket which they put inside the Tabernacle. What was inside You was the hidden Manna, Jesus (**K19^{rb}**)Christ, the Bread of Life. Whoever eats His Flesh and drinks His Blood (**D61^{ra}**) shall rejoice forever. All the celestial hosts could not be compare You, O golden stand, for You bear the True Light. They made Her from pure gold; and they put Her inside the Tabernacle and they made her by hand. They put oil in Her lamp both day and night. Mary Zion, the one who [was present] inside Your womb gives light to all men, who come into the world.

54 The Greek letter *iota*, which is the first letter of *Iēsous* 'Jesus', looks like the Gəʿəz numeral for 'ten'. Hence the association between *iota*, Jesus and the Ten Commandments (cf. Leslau 1987: 628).

55 Lit. 'true'.

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For He is the Sun of justice and You bore Him; and He purified us from our sins (**D61^{rb}**). Your glory is enormous, O Virgin Mary (**K19^{va}**), and greater than the golden stand which bears the seven lamps. They made its foundations and borders from the precious gold of Candace. Its light shines both day and night; and the oil in Her lamp is always full. O Mary Zion, truly You are the golden stand, the Divine Light, full of holy radiance within You. He has made the light shine over us we who dwell in darkness and the shadow (**D61^{va}**) of death. Truly and truly I do not sin in anyway if I call You the 'golden censer', for what is within it is the chosen censer in front of the Temple, so that the Lord (**K19^{vb}**) may take away the sins of mankind by the offerings and the aroma of censers. And, You O, Mary, bore the invisible Word of the Father in Your womb, who offered Himself on the cross as the accepted sacrifice for the salvation of our race. How beautiful is Your aroma, O Virgin Mary, (**D61^{vb}**) and it surpasses all the fragrance of frank incense, for truly You are the golden censer. And You bore the heavenly perfume who is Jesus Christ, the heavenly bridegroom, whose fragrant aroma truly fills everywhere. Youth received the beautiful fragrance. Those virgins who loved purity become daughters (**K20^{ra}**) to You, O Mary Zion ‡…‡ with the beauty of their virtue; with the rod of Aaron, which budded without being planted and watered.[56] And this is what You are truly compared to O Mother of Christ our God, (**D62^{ra}**) for although a Virgin without the seed of a man, He came [from You] and saved us. You are called the beloved, O St. Mary, for You became the second Tabernacle, inside which they put the rod of Aaron, for sanctification; and You are the pure flower for the incense. And Your garment is pure outside and inside, O Zion the Holy Tabernacle, the dwelling of righteous men. The host of the exalted praise You unceasingly. O Virgin (**K20^{rb}**) Mary, You are called the flower of sanctity for the incense which blossoms and buds from the root of scholars and prophets, like the rod (**D62^{rb}**) of Aaron the priest which budded and bore fruit. For You bore the Word without the seed of a man, and Your virginity was not corrupted. Behold now we believe that You are the Mother of the Lord, who gave Him birth and (yet), remained Virgin. Again we believe that it is fitting that You pray for us, O You full of grace, for You received grace before the Lord which exceeds [that of] the scholars and prophets. Again, pray for us as it is fitting, for Your glory exceeds that of the Seraphim (**K20^{va}**). Again, You (**D62^{va}**) O Mary Zion, You are the true intercessor for all of us. Pray for me before Your beloved Son that He should make me firm in Orthodox [faith] and let Him grant to me remission of [my] sins, and to all who have faith in You (Zion) and perform Your commemoration, forever and ever.

56 Cf. Num. 17:20–33.

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All the thousands of angels and archangels, and all the name(s) which can be given, cannot reach Your blessedness, O (You) dressed in the glory of the Lord of Hosts. Your radiance shines more than the sun; and Your glory exceeds (**D62^{vb}**) that of the Cherubim and the Seraphim(**K20^{vb}**), whose six wings are spread over You in joy. Your splendor is much higher than the heavens and Your glory than the earth and those who are in it. Truly, You are the bridge which reaches heaven. O Daughter of Zion, You were clothed in joy and You covered Adam [with] the garment of grace and brought him again to the Paradise of joy. Truly Zion Mary is the Tabernacle, in whom they placed the martyrs of righteous; and She is the Ark without impurity, overlaid with gold (**D63^{ra}**) on every side, as the sacrificial altar of which is of the Cherubim; the golden basket in which the Manna is hidden. This Word (**K21^{ra}**) of the Father went forth in flesh from You, the golden stand bearing the Light which is truly the eternal Light to which darkness cannot approach, [You are] the golden censer which bears the coals of fire and the chosen incense, in which is the flowering rod which bore the fruit and the pure flower for perfume. O our Lady Mary, all these demonstrate to us Your life-giving power.[57]

O Moses the prophet, you adorned our souls with wonderful (**D63^{rb}**) and marvelous things by the glory of the tabernacle, which you had adorned before. He made Her the abode of forgiveness for the children of Israel, as the Lord had told him through all the parables that he showed to him. Who can speak (**K21^{rb}**) of the glory of the tabernacle that Moses the prophet adorned? When honorable teachers, [those who wrote] the books, saw, they marveled very much and they pondered in their hearts; and they made exegesis by the Holy Spirit. They named our Lady Mary, daughter of Joachim (**D63^{va}**) and Hanna, the 'True Tabernacle of Lord of the hosts'. They compared the Ark with the Virgin, the chosen gold and the sacrifice with Her Virginity. And Cherubim hover in praise over her. As for the golden basket, [they compared it] with the Virgin; Gomär[58] and the Manna with our Savior; the golden stand with the Church; the seven lamps over the seven hosts and the golden censer with the Virgin; the incense (**K21^{va}**) with Immanuel; the rod of Aaron with the Cross on which was crucified the Beloved, the flower of her womb; (**D63^{vb}**) the banquet of sacrifice with Her womb; and the bread of the Eucharist with His Flesh. And the high priest with our Lord, the true Sacrificer, who offered Himself the sacrifice on behalf of our sins; the accepted Sacrifice on the Cross. And [His] kind [Father]

57 Lit. 'Your birth's giving'.

58 *Gomär* is a kind of measure; transcription of Greek *gomor* going back to Hebrew *'omęr* 'a measure of grain' (cf. Leslau 1987: 195).

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received Him on Golgotha at dusk. He opened the gate of the Paradise and He restored Adam to His throne for a second time. From Zion Mary, we came to know the Eucharist for the remission of our sins. Let Her blessings and the wealth of Her help and the grace of Her name and the mercy of Her beloved Son (**D64^{ra}**) be with the [lit. her] scribe Wäldä Rufa'el, (**K21^{vb}**) and with all hearers and readers forever and ever, Amen. Dərsanä Ṣəyon was completed in EC 1977 [= AD 1984/1985]. The scribe is priest Gälaw Biyadgläññ of Gondär. (**D64^{rb}**).

2 *Tä'ammərä Ṣəyon* 'Miracles of Zion'—EMML 8823 [F]

2.1 *Text*

ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስለ። ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። ስምዑ፡ እነግረክሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ጥንተ፡ ሙላዳ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ፀወንነ፡ አመ፡ ጸመ፡ ሙሴ፡ ፵፡ መዓልተ፡ ወ፵፡ ሌሊተ፡ በደብረ፡ ሲና። ወሀቦ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ጽላት፡ ዘዕብን፡ ዘበውስቴታ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ዓሠርቱ፡ ቃላት፡ ዘይቤ፡ አነ፡ ውእቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክከ፡ ዘአውጻዕኩከ፡ እምድረ፡ ግብጽ፡ እምነ፡ ምቅናይ(20va)ከ፡ ቀዳሜ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ኢታምልኩ፡ ካልኦ፡ አምላከ፡ ዘእንበሌየ። ካልዕ፡ ትዕዛዝ፡ ኢትግበር ለከ፡ አምላከ፡ ከመ፡ ዘበውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ በላዕሉ፡ ወከመ፡ ዘበውስተ፡ ምድር፡ በታሕቱ፡ ወኢውስተ፡ ማይ[59]፡ በታሕቴሃ፡ ለምድር፡ ወኢትስግድ፡ ሎሙ፡ ወኢታምልኮሙ፤ እስመ፡ አነ፡ ውእቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክከ፡ አምላከ፡ ቀናዒ፡ ዘእፈዲ፡ ኃጢአተ፡ አብ፡ ለውሉድ፡ እስከ፡ ሣልስ፡ ወራብእ፡ ትውልድ፡ ለእለ፡ ይጸልኡኒ፡ ወ[እ]ገብር፡ ምሕረተ፡ እስከ፡ ፲፻፡ ትውልድ፡ ለእለ፡ ያፈቅ(20^{vb})ሩኒ፡ ወየዓቅቡ፡ ትእዛዝየ። ሣልስ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ኢትምሐል፡ ስመ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ[ከ]፡ በሐሰት፡ እስመ፡ ኢያነጽሕ[60]፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለዘይነሥእ፡ ስሞ፡ በሐሰት። ራብዕ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ተዘከር፡ ዕለተ፡ ሰንበት፡ አጽድቆታ፡ ሰዱሰ፡ ዕለታተ። ግበር፡ ተግባረከ፡ ወኵሎ፡ ትእዛዘከ፡ ወዕለተ፡ ሰንበተ (sic)፡ ሰንበቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክከ። ኢትግበር፡ ባቲ፡ ወኢምንተኒ፡ ግብረ፤ ኢአንስት፡ ወኢወልድከ፡ ወኢወለትከ፡ ወኢአመትከ፡ ወኢብእራይከ[61]፡ ወኢአድግከ፡ ወኢእንስሳከ፡ ወኢ(21ra)ገብርከ፡ ወኢፈላሲ፡ ዘይነብር፡ ኀቤከ። እስመ፡ በሰዱስ፡ [ዕለታት፡] ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ሰማየ፡ ወምድረ፡ ወባሕረ፡ ወኵሎ፡ ዘውስቴቶሙ፡ ወአዕረፈ፡ አመ፡ ሳብዕት፡ ለዕት (sic)። ወበይነዝ፡ ባረካ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለዕለት፡ ሳብዕተ፡ ወአጽደቃ። ኃምሰ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ አክብር፡ አባከ፡ ወእመከ፡ ወይኩንከ፡ ጽድቀ። ወያኑኅ፡ መዋዕሊከ፡ በዲበ፡ ምድር፡ ዘወሀበከ፡ እግዚአብሔር። ሳድሰ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ኢትቅትል። ሳብዕ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ኢትዘሙ። ሳምን፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ኢትስርቅ። ታስዕ፡ ትዕዛዝ፡ ኢትስማዕ፡ ላዕለ፡ ቢጽ(21^{rb})ከ፡ ሰምዓ (sic)፡ በሐሰት። ዓሥር፡ ትእዛዝ፡ ኢትፍቱ፡ ብእሲተ፡ ካልዕ፡ ኢቤቶ፡ ወኢገራህቶ፡ ወኢገብሮ፡ ወኢአመቶ፡ ወኢላህሞ፡ ወኢብዕራይሁ። ወኢኵሎ፡ ዘውስተ፡ እንስሳሁ፡ ዘጥረከየ፡ (sic)

59 ሰማይ፡ F.

60 ኢያነጽሕ፡ F.

61 ወኢብራይከ፡ F.

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አጥርዮ፡ ቢጽከ። ዘንተ፡ ጸሐፈ፡ እግዚእነ፡ በእዴሁ፡ ወኮሎ፡ ሕዝበ፡ እስራኤል፡ ይሬኢ፡ ቃለ፡ ብርሃን፡ ለዘለንጳሰ፡ ወቃለ፡ ዘመጥቅዕ፡ ወደብሩ፡ ይጠይስ። ወፈሪሆሙ፡ ኮሎ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ቆሙ፡ ርኁቀ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ለሙሴ፡ ዛቲ፡ ሕግ፡ ትኩንከ፡ ሕገ፡ ወረድኤተ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም፡ ለከ፡ ወለእሊአከ፡ ወተመጢዎ፡ (21va) ሙሴ፡ ውእተ፡ ጽላተ፡ ዘሕግ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለሙሴ፡ እምዝ፡ ሑር፡ አበሱ፡ ሕዝብከ። ወሶበ፡ ሖረ፡ ረከቦሙ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሰግዱ፡ ለግልፎ። ወደንገጸ፡ ሙሴ። ወወድቀ፡ እምእዴሁ፡ ወተሰብረ፡ ዝኩ፡ ጽላተ፡ ሕግ። ወበከየ፡ ሙሴ፡ ወሖረ፡ ኀበ፡ ደብረ፡ ሲና፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ዘወሀብከኒ፡ ጽላተ፡ ሕግ፡ ተሠብረ። ወይቤሎ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ግበር፡ በአርአያሁ፡ ጽላተ፡ ሕግ፡ እምዕፅ፡ ዘኢይነቅዝ። ወገብረ፡ ሙሴ፡ በከመ፡ አዘዞ፡ እግዚአብሔር። ወእምዝ፡ ገብረ፡ ደብ(21vb)ተራ፡ ወአንጦልአ፡ መንጦላዕተ። ወአንበራ፡ በማዕከለ፡ ተዓይኒሁ።

ወሶበ፡ ሞተ፡ ሙሴ፡ ተመጠዎ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወሖረ፡ ኀበ፡ ገባዖን፡ ወበጽሐ፡ ኀበ፡ ዮርዳኖስ። ወተከፍለ፡ ሎቱ፡ ኀበ፡ ፲ወ፪፡ ከመ ይኩን፡ ትእምርተ፡ ለዘይመጽእ፡ ትውልድ። ወዖሩ፡ ዓሠርተ፡ ወክልኤተ፡ ‡...‡ ። ወሖሩ፡ ኀበ፡ ገባዖን፡ ወዖድዋ፡ ለኢያሪኮ፡ ሠለስተ፡ ጊዜ። ወኮነ፡ ቅጽራ፡ ከመ፡ ሰምዕ። ወጐዩ፡ አሕዛብ፡ ወአሕለቆሙ፡ ኢያሱ። ወሶበ፡ ዓርበ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ተርፉ፡ ንስቲተ። ወአምሐላ፡ ለፀሐይ፡ ወቆመት፡ ወአኅ(22ra)ለቆሙ። ወፈትሐ፡ ለፀሐይ፡ ወገብአት፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወረሰያ፡ ተዓይኒሁ፡ ለኢያሪኮ። ወሐነጸ፡ ጽርሐ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ማዕከለ፡ ተዓይኒሁ። ወተከለ፡ ዕብነ፡ በቅድሜሃ፡ ፯ተ፡ በየማነ (sic)፡ ወ፯ተ፡ በጸጋማ፡ ተከለ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም። ወነበረት፡ በህየ፡ በእደ፡ መሣፍንት፡ ዘውእቶሙ፡ ፊንሐስ፡ ኮኢስ፡ ጎቶልያ፡ ኤግሎም፡ ንጉሠ፡ ሞአብ፡ ናዖድ62፡ ሲሚጌር፡ ኢያቢስ63፡ ንጉሠ፡ ከነዓን፡ ወሲሳራ፡ መልአከ፡ ኃይሉ። ዲቦራ፡ ኬነነቶሙ፡ ‡...‡ ዚብሔል፡ ወስልማና፡ ነገሥተ64፡ ምድያም። ቀነይዖሙ፡ ጌዴዎን፡ አቤሜሌክ፡ ቶላ፡ ኢያዕር65። ነ(22rb)ገሥተ፡ ፍልስጥኤም ‡...‡ ። ወድቀ፡ አሞን፡ ቀነይዖሙ፡ ዮፍታሔ፡ ሐሴቦን፡ ኤሎም፡ ሎቦን፡ ነገሥተ፡ ፍልስጥኤም፡ ኢሎፍላውያን። ቀነይዖሙ፡ ሶምሶን፡ ‡...‡66 ። ሳሙኤል፡ ‡...‡ ሳኦል፡ ፴፡ ዓመተ፡ ነግሠ። ወእምዝ፡ ነግሠ፡ ዳዊት፡ ንጉሠ፡ እስራኤል። ወፄዋውያን፡ ኢሎፍላውያን፡ ወወሰድዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሮሙ። ወበህየ፡ አውረደት፡ ቦሙ፡ መቅሠፍተ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ወአኅለቀቶሙ። ወእለ፡ ተርፉ፡ ተማከሩ፡ በበይናቲሆሙ። ወፈነውዋ፡ ፅሂኖሙ፡ በአልህምት፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ ምስለ፡ ብዙኅ፡ አል(22va)ኅምት፡ ወቦአት፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ በኃይለ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ። ወሶበ፡ ሰምዑ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወሌዋውያን፡ ተመጠውዋ፡ እንዘ፡ ይዜምሩ። ወአብእዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ አቢዳራ። ወነበረት፡ ህየ፡ ንስቲተ፡ መዋዕለ። ወእምዝ፡ አብእዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤታ፡ በይባቤ፡ ወቃለ፡ ቀርን። ወነበረት፡ እስከ፡ ነግሠ፡ ሰሎሞን። ወውእተ፡ አሚረ፡ ወወረደት፡ እምአክሱም፡ ንግሥተ፡ አዜብ፡ ኀበ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ከመ፡ ትርአይ፡ ጥበቢሁ። ወሶበ፡ በጽሐት፡ ህየ፡ ተራከባ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወፀንሰት፡ ንግሥተ፡ አዜብ። ወእምዝ፡ (22vb) ተመይጠት፡ ኀበ፡ ሀገራ፡ አክሱም፡ ወወለደት፡ ወልደ፡ ተባዕተ። ወሶበ፡ ወርዘወ፡ ፈነወቶ፡ ኀበ፡ አቡሁ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ [ወ]ተፈሥሐ፡ ጥቀ። ወርእይዎ፡ ተዓይኒሁ፡ ሰመይዎ፡ በልሳኖሙ፡ ምኒልክ፡ እስመ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ብሂል፡ አርአያ፡

62 ነአድ፡ F.

63 ኢያሚን፡ F.

64 ቱንሥተ(sic)፡ F.

65 ኢያኤል፡ F.

66 ሚካ፡ ኤሪ፡ F.

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አቡሁ። ወይቤልዎ፡ ተዓይኒሁ፡ ለሰሎሞን፡ ፈንዎ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገሩ፡ እስመ፡ አንተ፡ ወወልድከ፡ መሰልክሙነ፡ አሐደ። ወይቤ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ በዅርየ። አንትሙ፡ ሀብዎ፡ በዅረክሙ፡ ወዓሌ፡ ወይሑር፡ ብሔሮ። ወወሀብዎ፡ (23ra) በዅሮሙ። ወሰሎሞንሂ፡ ወሀቦ፡ ፵ወ፩፡ ባዓለ፡ ሕግ፡ ምስለ፡ ታቦተ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወአንገሦ፡ ወእምዝ፡ ወልደ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ቦአ፡ ውስተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ወነሥአ[67]፡ ለጽዮን፡ ወአንበሮ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ኀበ፡ መንበረ፡ ጽዮን። ወአልበሰ፡ ጽዮን፡ ‡...‡ ወለጽዮንሂ፡ አልባሰ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ያእምሮ፡ ሰብእ። ወያራ፡ በርእሱ፡ ወመጽአ፡ ምስለ፡ ምኒልክ፡ ኀበ፡ አክሱም። ወኮነ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ነፋስ፡ ወአንሀለ፡ አብያቲሁ፡ ወተዓይኒሁ፡ ለሰሎሞን። ወይቤሎሙ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ለካህና(23rb)ት፡ እስኩ፡ ርእይዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕግኑ። ወርእዮሙ፡ ሀለወት፡ ይቤልዎ። ወጸንዓ፡ ነፋስ፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ካዕበ፡ ሀለወትኑ፡ ጽዮን፡ በመንበራ። ወይቤልዎ፡ እወ፡ ሀለወት። ወሶበ፡ ጸንዓ፡ ነፋሰ፡ ዓውሎ፡ ተምዓ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ቅልዑ፡ አልባሲሃ፡ ወኢረከብዋ። ወነገርዎ፡ ለሰሎሞን። ወካዕበ፡ ተምዓ፡ ጥቀ። ወፈነወ፡ ዅሎ፡ ሐራሁ፡ ወሠራዊቶ፡ ከመ፡ ይሚጥዋ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምኀበ፡ ምኒልክ። ወምኒልክሂ፡ ወሠራዊቱ፡ እንዘ፡ የሐውሩ፡ እምፍኖቶሙ፡ ‡...‡ ለሰሎ(23va)ሞን፡ አድባራት፡ ወዕፀዋት፡ እምፍኖታት። ዅሉ፡ ጐጻጕጸ፡ ፍኖት፡ ኮነ፡ ርቱዓ፡ እምቅድሜሆሙ፡ ወበጽሑ፡ ኀበ፡ ባሕር፡ ፀዊሮሙ፡ ጽዮን። ወተከፍለት፡ ሎሙ። ወዓደውዋ፡ በእግር፡ ከመ፡ የብስ። እስመ፡ እምይወጽእ፡ ሕግ፡ ወሜወ፡ ተክህኖ፡ ኃይል፡ ወመዊዕ፡ ወእጓለ፡ ማ[ውታ፡] ‡...‡ አንበሳሂ፡ ለእመ፡ ኢበልዐ፡ ዕፀ፡ መዊዕ፡ አልቦቱ፡ ኃይል፡ ወመዊዕ። ከማሁኒ፡ ካህናት፡ ወነገሥታት፡ ለእመ፡ ኢተባረኩ፡ እምጽዮን፡ አልቦሙ፡ ፄወ፡ ተክህኖ፡ ለካህናት፡ ወአልቦሙ፡ ኃ(23vb)ይል፡ ወመዊዕ፡ ለነገሥታት። ወእምዝ፡ ተጋብኦት፡ ከመ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ዛቲ፡ ባሕር። ወሶቤሃ፡ በጽሑ፡ ሠራዊተ፡ ሰሎሞን። ወሶበ፡ ርእይዋ፡ ነደ፡ አማዑቶሙ፡ ወውእየ፡ ልቦሙ፡ ወወድቁ፡ በገጾሙ። ወአንገርገሩ፡ ዲበ፡ ምድር። ወተመይጡ፡ እንዘ፡ ይበክዩ። ወምኒልክሂ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ዕብነ፡ ሐኪም፡ ወሠራዊቱ፡ በጽሑ፡ ኀበ፡ ምድረ፡ አክሱም፡ ፀዊሮሙ፡ ጽዮንሃ፡ ታቦተ፡ አምላክ። ወገብሩ፡ በህየ፡ ትዕይንተ፡ ወአንበርዋ፡ በማዕከሌሙ። ወሐነፁ፡ ላቲ፡ ጽርሐ፡ ሠናየ፡ ወሥርግው። ወበዛቲ፡ ዕ(24ra)ለት፡ አመ፡ ፷ወ፩፡ ለኀዳር፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ተመይጦታ፡ እምኀበ፡ ፄወውዋ፡ ኀበ፡ ቤታ። ወዳግም፡ ምጽአታ፡ ኀበ፡ ምድረ፡ አክሱም። ወበእንተዝ፡ ያብዕሉ፡ ላቲ፡ በዓለ፡ ዓቢየ፡ አመ፡ ፷ወ፩፡ ለለወርኁ። ወፈድፋደሰ፡ አመ፡ ፷ወ፩፡ ለኀዳር። ወነበረት፡ ህየ፡ በሕገ፡ ኦሪት፡ እስከ፡ ይትወለድ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ እምቅድስት፡ ድንግል። ወሶበ፡ ተወልደሂ፡ ብዙኃ፡ መዋዕል፡ ምስለ፡ ካህናቲሃ፡ ነበሩ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ያእምሩ፡ ልደቶ፡ ለክርስቶስ።

ወእምዝ፡ መጽአ፡ አባ፡ ሰላማ፡ እምብሔረ፡ ግብፅ፡ ኀበ፡ አክሱም። ወይቤ(24rb)ሎሙ፡ ለካህናተ፡ ጽዮን፡ በምንት፡ ሕግ፡ ሀለውክሙ። ወይቤልዎ፡ በሕገ፡ ኦሪት። ወይቤሎሙ፡ ኢያእመርክሙኑ፡ ከመ፡ ተፈጸመ፡ ተስፋ፡ አቡነ፡ አዳም፡ ወኪዳነ፡ አብርሃም፡ ወመሐላሁ፡ ለዳዊት። ወዘከመ፡ ኃለፈት፡ ሕገ፡ ኦሪት፡ ወበከመ፡ ቆመ፡ ሕገ፡ ወንጌል፡ ብስራታዊ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም። ወዘከመ፡ ወሀበነ፡ ጸጋ፡ በዲበ፡ ጸጋ። ወዘከመ፡ ዓልዓላ፡ ለእሙ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ እምዖታ፡ ሰብእ፡ ወመላእክት። ወዘከመ፡ ሰገዱ፡ ተዓይነ፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ ላቲ። ለክብረ፡ ንግሣ፡ ዘከመ፡ ተገብረ፡ ሠማ(24va)ይ፡ ወምድር። ወዘከመ፡ ተፈጥሩ፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ በእንቲአሃ። ወዘከመ፡ ተሰምየት፡ ታቦተ፡ ሕገክሙ፡ በስማ፡ በአምሳለ፡ ስም[68]፡ ዘይሜስልዎ፡

67 'አ፡ F.

68 ስምዕ፡ F.

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በወርቅ፡ ጽዮን፡ ብሂል፡ ማርያም፡ ብሂል፡ ፀወን፡ ብሂል። ወዘከመ፡ ኮነ፡ ሰብእ፡ ከማነ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ባሕቲታ። ወእምድኅረ፡ ኮነ፡ ሰብአ፡ ጥዩቀ፡ አምላክ፡ ፍጹም፡ ውእቱ። ወዘከመ፡ ሐረየ፡ ፲ወ፪ቱ፡ ወሰመዮሙ፡ ሐዋርያተ። ወዘከመ፡ ሰመየ፡ ፲ወ፪ቱ። ወዘከመ፡ ነበራ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ፸ወ፪፡ (24^{vb}) አንስት፡ እንዘ፡ ይትለአካሁ። ወዘከመ፡ ይቤሎሙ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ፡ ሑሩ፡ ወመህሩ፡ ኵሉ፡ አሕዛበ። ወዘከመ፡ ነገሮሙ፡ ለ፲ወ፪፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ስሞ፡ ኀቡአ፡ ከመ፡ ይማውኦሙ[69]፡ ለሰይጣናት፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ኢያሂ፡ ሱራሂ፡ ድማሄል፡ አቅባዲር፡ ምናቱር፡ አናንኤል፡ ኬንያ፡ ግዮን፡ ሴቃ፡ ጼቃ፡ ሰተናዊ፡ ኢያኤል። አማኑኤል፡ ፭፡ ረዳኤ፡ አፍራኤል፡ ማርዮን፡ ምናቱር፡ ኢልኤል፡ ኤል፡ አኮ፡ ኤሎሄ፡ ሂጣ፡ ሂዳ፡ አውያያ፡ (25ra) ጸባዖት፡ አፍ፡ አፍያኪሮ፡ ላሂ፡ ላሂ፡ ላሂ። መስተድዮስ፡ አፉር፡ አፉር፡ አፉር፡ አፍርዮን፡ አፍናታ፡ ላሃን፡ ላሃን፡ ላሃን፡ ሱራኤል፡ ወአልቦ፡ ባዕድ፡ አምላክ፡ ዘእንበሌሁ፡ በሰማይ፡ በላዕሉ፡ ወበምድር፡ በታሕቱ። ፭፡ ውእቱ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ጸባዖት፡ ቅዱስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ቅዱስ። ዘኢይመውት፡ እምዝ፡ ዳግም፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም። ዘከመ፡ ነበረ፡ ፸ወ፫ቱ፡ ዓመተ፡ ወ፫ቱ፡ አውርኃ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓለም፡ እንዘ፡ ያንሶሱ፡ ምስሌ(25^{rb})ነ፡ ወዘከመ፡ መሐረ፡ ሕገ፡ ወንጌል፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ነሥሑ፡ እስመ፡ ቀርበት፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፤ ወዘከመ፡ አዘዘ፡ ፮ተ፡ ቃላተ፡ ወንጌል፡ ርኅብኩ፡ ወአብላዕክሙኒ። ጸማዕኩ፡ ወአስተይክሙኒ። ነግደ፡ ኮንኩ፡ ወተወከፍክሙኒ፡ ወአኅደርክሙኒ። አረቁ፡ ወአልበስክሙኒ። ደወይኩ፡ ወሐወጽክሙኒ። ተሞቃህኩ፡ ወመጻእክሙ፡ ኀቤየ፡ ወነበብክሙኒ። ወዘከመዝ፡ መሐረ፡ አሚነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ፫፡ (25va) አካላት፡ ወ፭፡ መለኮት፡ ወ፭፡ መንግሥት። ዘከመ፡ ወሀበነ፡ ልብሰ፡ ጥምቀት፡ ዘያነጽሕ፡ ኃጢአተነ። ወዘከመ፡ ወሀበነ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወደሞ፡ ከመ፡ ንብላዕ፡ ወንስተይ፡ በንጹሕ፡ ዘያስተላጽቀነ፡ ምስሌሁ። [ወ]ዘከመ፡ ወሀበነ፡ መራኁተ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ዘአሠርክሙ፡ በምድር፡ ይኩን፡ እሡረ፡ በሰማያት፡ ወዘከመ፡ ፈታሕክሙ፡ በምድር፡ ይኩን፡ ፍቱሐ፡ በሰማያት። [ወ]ዘከመ፡ ረሰየነ፡ መዋርስቲሁ። [ወ]ዘከመ፡ ሰመየነ፡ አኃው፡ ምስሌ(25^{vb})ሁ። [ወ]ዘከመ፡ ሰቀልዎ፡ አይሁድ፡ ወተንሥአ፡ እሙታን፡ አመ፡ ፫ልስት፡ ዕለት። ወበ፵፡ ዕለት፡ ዓርገ፡ ሰማያተ። ወእምዝ፡ በ፲፡ ዕለት፡ ፈነወ፡ ለነ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ። ወካዕበ፡ ይመጽእ፡ ለኵንኖ፡ ሕያዋን፡ ወሙታን። ወዘከመ፡ ወሀበነ፡ መስቀሎ፡ ክቡረ፡ መግረፌ፡ ፀርነ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይቅረቡ፡ ኀቤነ፡ ሠራዊተ፡ ዲያብሎስ። [ወ]ዘከመ፡ ፄወወ፡ ሙታነ፡ በደሙ። ወዘከመ፡ አግዓዘነ፡ እምግብርናቲሁ፡ ለዲያብሎስ። ወዘከመ፡ ወሀበነ፡ ወንጌለ፡ ዘያበስር፡ ተስፋ፡ መንግ(26ra)ሥተ፡ ሰማያት። ወበከመ፡ መሀረ፡ ዘንተ፡ ኵሎ፡ ትምህርታተ። ወዘከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ዕቀቡ፡ ቃልየ፡ ወጽንዑ፡ ትእዛዝየ። ወዘከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ንዑ፡ ባኡ፡ እንተ፡ አንቀጽ፡ ጸባብ። ወዘከመ፡ ይቤለነ፡ ለእመ፡ ኢያፈድፈድክሙ፡ በሕግ፡ ጸዲቅ (sic)፡ ‡...‡ ፈድፋደ፡ እምጸሐፍት፡ ወፈሪሳውያን፡ ኢትበውእዋ፡ ለመንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት። ወዘከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ኢመጻእኩ፡ እሰአሮሙ፡ ለኦሪት፡ ወለነቢያት፡ አላ፡ ዳእሙ፡ ከመ፡ እፈጽሞሙ።

ዘንተ፡ ኵሎ፡ ኢሰማዕክሙኑ፡ ወይቤልዎ፡ ኢሰማዕነ፡ ወኢያእመርነ። (26^{rb}) ወይቤሎሙ፡ ነገርኩክሙ፡ ኢተአምኑሁ። ወይቤልዎ፡ እወ፡ ነአምን፡ ለእመ፡ ነገሩነ፡ ተስፋ፡ አቡነ፡ አዳም፡ ዘይቤሎ፡ እትወለድ፡ እምወለትከ፡ ወአድኅነከ[70]፡ ውስተ፡ መርሀብከ፡ ወእትቤዘወከ፡

69 ይማዕዎሙ፡ F.

70 ወአድኅነከ፡ F.

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በመስቀልየ። ወለአብርሃምኒ፡ አቡነ፡ ዘይቤሎ፡ እሬስየከ፡ አባሆሙ፡ ለብዙኃን፡ አሕዛብ። በዘርእከ፡ ይትባረኩ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ አሕዛብ፡ ምድር። ወሙሴሂ፡ ይቤ፡ ነቢየ፡ ያነሥእ፡ ለክሙ፡ ዘከማየ፡ እምአኃዊክሙ። ዘኢትሰምዖ፡ (26va) ለውእቱ፡ ነቢይ፡ ትሜሮ፡ እምሕዝባ። ወዳዊትኒ፡ ይቤ፡ እስመ፡ ጎረያ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለጽዮን። ወአብደራ፡ ከመ፡ ትኩኖ፡ ማኅደሮ። ዛቲ፡ ይእቲ፡ ምዕራፍየ፡ ለዓለም። ወትቀውም፡ ንግሥት፡ በየማንከ፡ በአልባሰ፡ ወርቅ፡ ዑፅፍት፡ ወጐብርት። ኢሳይያስኒ፡ ይቤ፡ ናሁ፡ ድንግል፡ ትፀንስ። ወትወልድ፡ ወልደ፡ ወትሰምዮ፡ ስሞ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ ያድኅኖሙ፡ ለሕዝቡ፡ እምኀጢአቶሙ። ወዳንኤልኒ፡ ይቤ፡ ትት(26vb)ሐነፅ[71]፡ (sic) መቅደስ፡ እስከ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ንጉሥ። ወሚክያስኒ[72]፡ ይቤ፡ አንቲኒ፡ ቤተልሔም፡ ምድረ፡ ኤፍራታ፡ ኢትቴሐቲ፡ እምነገሥተ፡ ይሁዳ፡ እስመ፡ እምኔኪ፡ ይወፅእ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘይርዕዮሙ[73]፡ ለሕዝብየ፡ እስራኤል። ለእመ፡ በጽሐ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ኵሉ፡ ቃላተ፡ አሪት፡ ወነቢያት፡ አጥምቀነ፡ ይቤልዎ። ወተፈሥሐ፡ አቡነ፡ ሰላማ። ወፈርሃ፡ ከመ፡ ያጥምቆሙ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ መባሕተ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት። ወይቤሎሙ፡ አ(27ra)ሐውር፡ ኀበ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ወእነግሮ። ወውእቱ፡ ዘፈነዎ፡ ያጠምቀክሙ። ወይቤልዎ፡ በከመ፡ ፈቀድከ። ወሖረ፡ ኀበ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ወሜሞ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ለአቡነ፡ ሰላማ። ወፈነዎ፡ ኀበ፡ ብሔረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ። ወይቤሎ፡ ሑር፡ መሀሮሙ፡ ወአጥምቆሙ፡ ወረስዮሙ፡ ቀሳውስተ፡ ወዲያቆናተ። ወእምዝ፡ ተመይጠ፡ አቡነ፡ ሰላማ፡ ወአጥመቆሙ፡ ጥምቀተ፡ ክርስትና። ወረሰዮሙ፡ ቀሳውስተ፡ ወዲያቆናተ። ወተፈሥሑ፡ ዓቢየ፡ ፍ(27rb)ሥሐ። ወምክንያተ፡ ምጽአቱስ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ከመዝ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዜናሁ። መጽአ፡ አሐዱ፡ ብእሲ፡ እምፅርዕ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ሜሮጵዮስ[74]፡ (sic) ሊቀጠበብት፡ ይፈቅድ፡ ይርአያ፡ ለብሔረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ። ወምስሌሁ፡ ክልኤቱ፡ ደቂቅ፡ ዘእምአዝማዲሁ፡ ስሙ፡ ለ፩፡ ፍሬ፡ ምናጦስ፡ (sic) ወለካልዑ፡ አድስዮስ። ወቦ፡ እለ፡ ይሰምይዎ፡ ሲድራኮስ። ወበጽሐ፡ በሐመር፡ ሐይቀ፡ ብሔረ፡ ግብጽ፡ አግዓዚ። ወርእየ፡ ኵሎ፡ ሠናያተ፡ ዘፈተወት፡ ልቡ። ወእንዘ፡ ይፈቅድ፡ ል(27va)ቡ፡ ይትመየጥ፡ ብሔሮ፡ ተንሥኡ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ፀር፡ ወቀተልዎ፡ ምስለ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ምስሌሁ። ወተርፉ፡ ፪፡ ደቂቅ፡ ንዑሳን። ወፂወውዎሙ[75]፡ ሰብአ፡ ሀገር። ወመሀርዎሙ፡ ግብረ፡ ዘተቃትሎ። ወወሰድዎሙ፡ አምኃ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ አክሱም፡ ዘስሙ፡ አልዓዳ (sic)። ወሜሞ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ለአድስዮስ፡ መጋቤ፡ ቤተ፡ ቃጢን (sic)። ወለፍሬ፡ ምናጦስ፡ ዓቃቤ፡ ሕግ፡ ወጸሐፌ፡ አክሱም። ወእምድኅረ፡ ኀዳጥ፡ መዋዕል፡ አዕረፈ፡ ን(27vb)ጉሥ፡ ወሐደገ፡ እጓለ፡ ንዑሰ፡ ምስለ፡ እሙ። ወነግሡ፡ እለ፡ አዝጓግ። ወነበሩ፡ አድስዮስ[76]፡ ወፍሬ፡ ምናጦስ፡ እንዘ፡ የሐፅንዎ፡ ለሕፃን፡ ወይሜህርዎ፡ ሃይማኖተ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት፡ በበንስቲተ። ወሐነፁ፡ ሎቱ፡ ምጽላየ፡ ወአስተጋብኡ፡ ኀቤሁ፡ ደቂቀ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሜህርዎሙ፡ መዝሙረ፡ ወማኅሌተ። ወሶበ፡ አብጽሐ፡ ዝኩ፡ ዓቅመ፡ ውርዛዌ፡ ‡...‡[77] ሀገሮሙ። ወአድስዮስሰ፡ [ሖረ፡] ብሔ(28ra)ሮ፡ ጢሮስ[78]፡ ከመ፡ ይርአይ፡ ወላድያኒሁ። ወፍሬ፡ ምናጦስኒ፡ በጽሐ፡ እስክንድርያ፡ ኀበ፡ ሊቀ፡

71 ትሐንፅ፡ F.

72 ወሚልክያስኒ፡ F.

73 ዘይርእዮሙ፡ F.

74 ሜሮቦጵዮስ፡ F.

75 ወፂዎሙ፡ F.

76 ሰድስዮስ፡ F.

77 ሰአልዎ፡ ከመ፡ ይፈንዎሙ፡ F.

78 ጢሮስ፡ F.

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፩፩ሳት፡ ዘስሙ፡ አትናቴዎስ። ወረከቦ፡ በሐዲስ፡ ሚመቱ። ወዜነዎ፡ ኵሎ፡ ዘበጽሐ፡ ላዕሌሁ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ሃይማኖቶሙ፡ ለብሔረ፡ አግአዚ። ወዘከመ፡ አምኑ፡ በክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት። እንዘ፡ አልቦሙ፡ ፩፩ሳት፡ ወቀሳውስት፡ ወዲያቆናት። ወእምዝ፡ ሜሞ፡ አትናቴዎስ፡ ለፍሬ፡ ምናጦስ፡ ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ፩፩ስ፡ ለብሔረ፡ አግዓዚ፡ ዘብሔረ፡ ኢትዮጵ(28rb)ያ። ወፈነዎ፡ ምስለ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ክብር። ወበጽሐ፡ ብሔረ፡ አግዓዚ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ አክሱም፡ ፀዊሮ፡ ወንጌለ፡ አመ፡ ፲ወ፮፡ ለታኅሣሥ፡ አመ፡ መንግሥተ፡ አብርሃ፡ ወአጽብሐ፡ ወሰበከ፡ በሰላመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሎቱ፡ ስብሐት፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለም። ‡...‡ ወኮሉ፡ አድያሚሃ። ወበእንተዝ፡ ተሰምየ፡ አባ፡ ሰላማ፡ ወአእመኖሙ79፡ ፦በስመ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ80፡ ለሰብአ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ወእምነቶሙሰ፡ እምልደተ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ በ፴፪፴፭፡ ዓመ(28va)ት። ወእምዝ፡ አዕረፈ፡ አቡነ፡ ሰላማ፡ አመ፡ ፭ወ፯፡ ለሐምሌ፡ በሰላመ፡ እግዚአብሔር። ወይደልወነ፡ ንግበር፡ ተዝካሮ፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ አቡነ፡ ሰላማ፡ ወመምህርነ። ኪዳን፡ ጽኑዕ፡ ተውህቦ፡ ሎቱ፡ እምኀበ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወእምእግዝእትነ81፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ። ዘይገብሮ፡ ተዝካሮ፡ ወዘይጼውእ፡ ስሞ፡ ወዘይጽሕፍ፡ መጽሐፈ፡ ገድሉ፡ ኢይራእያ፡ ለደይን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም።

ወእምድኅረዝ፡ (28vb) መጽኡ፡ ኀበ፡ ምድረ፡ አግዓዚ፡ ፱፡ ቅዱሳን፡ እሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ አባ፡ ጰንጠሌዎን፡ ወአባ፡ ዘሚካኤል፡ ዘውእቱ፡ አረጋዊ፡ እምሀገረ፡ እስክንድርያ። አባ፡ ሊቃኖስ፡ ዘቍስጥንጥንያ። ወአባ፡ ይምዓታ፡ ዘቆስያ። ወአባ፡ ጉባ፡ ዘእምቂልቅያ፡ ወአባ፡ ጽሕማ፡ እምአንጾኪያ። ወአባ፡ አፍጼ፡ እምእስያ። ወአባ፡ መጣዕ፡ እምሮምያ። ወአባ፡ ዖጽ፡ እምቂሳርያ፡ ከመ፡ ይስቅይዋ፡ በማየ፡ ትምህርቶሙ፡ ለገነተ፡ አቡነ፡ ሰላማ፡ ወሰቀይዋ። ወአባ፡ ዘ(29ra)ሚካኤል፡ ዘውእቱ፡ አረጋዊ፡ አመንኮሶ፡ አባ፡ (sic) ክርስቶስ፡ ቤዛ። ወአባ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ቤዛ፡ ወለደ፡ (sic) ለአባ፡ መስቀል፡ ሞአ፡ ወለአባ፡ ዮሐኒ። ወአባ ዮሐኒ፡ ወለዶ፡ ለአባ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ሞአ፡ በቀሚስ፡ ወበቅናት82። ወኢየሱስ፡ ሞአ፡ ወለዶ፡ ለአባ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ በቀሚስ፡ ወበቅንዓት። ከማሁ፡ አባ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ወፂአ፡ እምሐይቅ፡ ዓርገ፡ ደብረ፡ ዳሞ። ወነሥአ፡ ቆብአ፡ ወአስኬማ፡ በእደ፡ አባ፡ ዮሐኒ። ወእምድኅረ፡ ነሥአ፡ ቆብአ፡ ወአስኬማ፡ ወረደ፡ (29rb) ኢየሩሳሌም፡ ፫፡ ጊዜ፡ በ፭፡ ሐጋይ፡ ‡...‡። ወረከበ፡ ምውተ፡ በፍኖት። ወአነሥኦ፡ በ፲ወ፪፡ ዓመት። ወተመይጠ፡ እምኢየሩሳሌም፡ እንዘ፡ ይተልም፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘአንሥኦ። ወአልበሶ፡ አልባሰ፡ ምንኩስና። ወሰመዮ፡ አርአየነ፡ ጸጋሁ፡ ወበጽሐ፡ ምድረ፡ ትግሬ፡ ወበህየ፡ ወለዶ፡ ለወስጣቴዎስ (sic)፡ እሙ። ወአባ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት (sic)፡ ወአባ፡ ኤዎስጣቴዎስ፡ ወለዶ፡ ለአባ፡ ዳንኤል፡ ወለብዙኃን፡ ደቂቅ። ወአባ፡ ዳንኤል፡ ወለዶ፡ ለአባ፡ ኤዎስጣቴዎስ (sic)፡ እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡ እኅወ፡ እሙ። (29va) ወአባ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ሖረ፡ ኀበ፡ ሐይቅ፡ ወተራከቦ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ ሞአ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ሞአ፡ ኦ፡ ወልድየ፡ ኩነኒ፡ አበ። ወወህቦ፡ ቆብአ፡ ወአስኬማ። ወኮኖ፡ አበ። ወእምድኅረዝ፡ ሖረ፡ ምድረ፡ ሸዋ፡ ወመህረ፡ በህየ፡ ብዙኃ። ወአእመነ፡ በስመ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ። ወገብረ፡ ተአምረ፡ ወመንክረ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ዘኢይትኆለቁ። ዝንቱ፡ ኵሉ፡ ኮነ፡ በኃይለ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ለፀወነ፡ ዓለም፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡

79 ወአእመኖሙ፡ F.

80 በስመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ F.

81 ወለእግዝእትነ፡ F.

82 ወበቅንዓት፡ F.

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ድንግል፡ በክልኤ፡ (29^{vb}) ማርያም፡ ጥዕምት፡ ስም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፤ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ ወምሕረቱ፡ ለፍቁር፡ ወልዳ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ..... ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፤ ወአሜን፡ ለይኩን፡ ለይኩን።

ኦ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ፀወነ፡ ብዙኃን፡ አእላፍ፤
ረድኤቶሙ፡ አንቲ፡ ለእለ፡ ውስተ፡ ባሕር፡ ወጸድፍ፤
ርድእኒ፡ ጊዜ፡ ወዲቅ፡ ወአንሥእኒ፡ በክንፍ፤
እስመ፡ አነ፡ ገብርኪ፡ ..... አፈቅረኪ፡ እምውሳጤ፡ ልብየ፡ ወአኮ፡ በአፍ፤ (30ra)
ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (30^{rb})

2.2 *Translation*

Miracle[83] of our Lady Virgin Saint Mary, Mother of God; May Her prayer and blessings be with ... forever and ever Amen. Listen, I will tell you, O Christian people. The beginning of the genealogy of Zion, our refuge, [is] at the time when Moses fasted for forty days and forty nights at Mount Sinai. The Lord had given him the stone Tablet[s], on which the Ten Commandments were inscribed, which say: 'I am the Lord your God, whom I brought you from the land of Egypt, out of the place of your bondage'. (**20va**). First commandment—'Do not worship other gods except Me'. Second commandment—'Do not make any god like that which is in the heaven above or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I the Lord your God am a jealous God, requiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and the fourth generation of those who hate me, but doing mercy to the thousandth generation of those who love me (**20^{vb}**) and keep my commandment[s]'. Third commandment—'Do not swear falsely by the name of the Lord, your God; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless who takes His name falsely'. Fourth commandment—'Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days you shall labor, and do your work and all you are commanded; but the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God; in it you shall not do any work [you] or a woman,[84] or your son, or your daughter, or your maidservant, or your ox, or your ass, or your cattle, or (**21ra**) your manservant, or the sojourner who is with you. For in six [days] the Lord made the heaven and the earth, the sea and all that is in them, and He rested on the seventh day; therefore, the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it'. Fifth commandment—'Honor your father and your mother and let it be a pious deed for you, that He may lengthen your days in the land which the

83 For general bibliography and brief note on the *Tä'ammərä Maryam* 'miracle of Mary', cf. Balicka-Witakowska and Bausi 2010: 789–793.

84 The Gə'əz has **አንስት፡** '(a) woman'. Perhaps this is a corruption of **አንተ፡** 'you', which is found instead in the Hebrew and the LXX.

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Lord your God gives you'. Sixth commandment—'You shall not kill'. Seventh commandment—'You shall not commit adultery'. Eighth commandment—'You shall not steal'. Ninth commandment—'You shall not bear false witness against your (**21^{rb}**) neighbor'. Tenth commandment 'You shall not covet your neighbor's wife, or his house, or his plough, or his manservant, or his maid servant, or his cow, or his ox, or anything of the cattle that your neighbor possesses'. Our Lord inscribed this with His hand. And all the people of Israel saw the sound of the light, which is the torch[85] and the sound of the trumpet; and smoke was coming from the mountain. All people were standing at distance out of fear. And Our Lord said to Moses 'Let this Law be the Law and a help to you forever, for you and your followers'. And Moses received (**21va**) the Tablet[s] of the Law. The Lord said to Moses 'Let you go, from here[86] for your people have sinned'. When he went, he found them worshiping an idol. Then Moses was dismayed; and the Tablet(s) of the Law fell down from his hand and broke. And Moses wept and went (back) to Mount Sinai and said to the Lord, 'The Tablet[s] of the Law that You gave me is broken'. Then the Lord replied to him, 'Make it its image the Tablet[s] of the Law from incorruptible wood'.[87] And Moses did as the Lord had commanded him. And he made a tabernacle (**21^{vb}**) and stretched out the curtain. He put Her in the middle of his camp.

When Moses died, Joshua received Zion and went to Gibeon and reached the Jordan. And it [i.e. the land] was divided into twelve in order to be a sign for future generations. Then they took up twelve ‡…‡.[88] They went to Gibeon[89] and they encircled Jericho three times. Its walls became like wax; the people fled and Joshua destroyed them. At sunset, a few remained. He conjured the sun and it stood still, and he destroyed them (**22ra**). Then he released the sun and the sun was restored. And he made his camp at Jericho. He constructed a chamber for Zion in the middle of his camp. He planted a stone before Her, seven on Her right and seven on Her left he planted, forever. She lived there

85 The Bible text (Exod. 20:15 in Hebrew, Exod. 20:18 in LXX) reads 'They saw [i.e. perceived] the sounds and the torches [i.e. lightning] and the sound of the shofar (trumpet)'. The text here is evidently a corruption; 'the sound of the light' makes no sense. The following word **ለዘለንጻሰ፡** also is grammatically bizarre.

86 I.e., go down from Mount Sinai and return to the Israelites.

87 I.e., acacia wood. There is some confusion here. The new Tablets were of stone like the old ones (Exod. 34:1); it was the Ark that was made of acacia wood (Hebrew *šiṭṭim*), cf. for example Exod. 25:10.

88 This is not a complete sentence.

89 **ገባዖን፡** (Ethiopic), *Giḇʿon* (Hebrew), *Gabbōn* (LXX). A city in the time of Joshua (Josh. 9:17); Solomon offered a sacrifice there (1Kings 3:4).

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at the hand of the judges:[90] Phinhas, Kʷe'is,[91] Gotolya,[92] Eglon the king of Moab,[93] Ehud,[94] Simiger,[95] Yabin—king of Canaan[96] and Sisera commander of his army.[97] Deborah[98] judged them ‡...‡ Zebah and Zalmunna—the kings of Midian.[99] Gideon,[100] Abimelech,[101] Tola,[102] Yair[103] (**22**$^{\mathbf{rb}}$) ruled them. Kings of Philistines ‡...‡. Amon fell down. Yaphtah,[104] Heshbon,[105] Elon,[106] Lubon—Philistines, kings of Philistines ruled them. Samson,[107] Micah,[108] ‡...‡ ruled them. Samuel ‡...‡ . Saul reigned for forty years over Israel.[109] Then David, reigned as king of Israel. And the Philistines captured [Her] and took Her to their city. There, She brought down upon them many calamities and she destroyed them. And those who remained (alive) took counsel with each other. Then they sent Her (back), loading (Her) on oxen towards Her city, with many oxen (**22**$^{\mathbf{va}}$). She entered Her city by the power of Holy Spirit. When David and the Levites heard, they welcomed Her with singing. They brought Her into the

90 Judges, in Israelite history, were unelected, non hereditary leaders, before the formation of the centralized government (ca. 1200–1050 BC). Several of the people in the following list were not judges, but enemies of Israel whom the judges fought against.

91 The name Kʷe'is doesnot appear in the Bible. Perhaps it can be equated to Kushan-Rish'ataim, king of Aram, who was defeated by Gotolya/Othniel (Judg. 3:8).

92 Son of Kenaz (cf. Judg. 3:9). In Hebrew he is 'Othni'el, in LXX *Gothoniēl*; the Gə'əz **ጎቶልያ:** is a corruption of the LXX.

93 Judg. 3:12.

94 Son of Gera, the Benjaminite, a left-handed man. Cf. Judg. 3:15.

95 The son of Anath, who killed 600 of the Philistines with an oxgoad (ploughshare). Cf. Judg. 3:31.

96 Cf. Judg. 4:2.

97 He was the commander of the army of Yabin. Cf. Judg. 4:2.

98 Cf. Judg. 4:4.

99 Cf. Judg. 8:5.

100 Gideon is also called 'Jurubbaal' (Judg. 7:1). He was a great judge in the history of Israel. It is written that '... And the land had rest forty years in the days of Gideon'. Cf. Judg. 8:28.

101 Abimelech is the son of Gideon. Gideon had many wives and seventy sons (cf. Judg. 8:30–31).

102 Tola was the successor of Abimelech, and he was the son of Puah, son of Dodo, a man of Issachar (cf. Judg. 10:1).

103 Yair the Gileadite rose after Tola (Judg. 10:3).

104 Yaphtah the Gileadite was a mighty warrior although the son of a harlot (cf. Judg. 11:1 ff.).

105 Sihon king of the Amorites, king of Heshbon (Judg. 11:19).

106 Cf. Judg. 12:11.

107 Cf. Judg. 13:24–16:31.

108 Cf. Judg. 17:1 ff.

109 I cannot find this in the Bible. Eli and David ruled for 40 years (1 Sam 4:18; 2 Sam. 5:4).

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house of Abidara.[110] She stayed there for a short period. Then, they brought Her (own) to Her house in jubilation and the sound of the trumpet. She stayed [there] until Solomon became king. At that time, the Queen of the South went down from Axum to King Solomon so that she might see his wisdom. When she arrived there, Solomon slept with Her and the Queen of the South conceived. Then (**22^{vb}**) she returned to her country Axum and she bore a male child. When he grew up, she sent him to his father Solomon, and he rejoiced very much. And seeing him, his [Solomon] compatriots named him 'Mənilək' in their tongue, which means 'likeness of his father'. Then the compatriots of Solomon said to him 'Let you send him to his country, for you and your son seem to us one'. And Solomon said 'As he is my first-born, let you give him your first-born as retainers and let him go to his country'. And they gave (**23ra**) him their first-born. As for Solomon, he gave him forty-four learned men of the Law together with the Ark of Michael and he made him a king. Then, the son of the high priest entered the Temple and carried off Zion, and placed the Ark of St. Michael upon the altar of Zion [in Her place]. And he dressed Zion ‡…‡ as for Zion, the garments of St. Michael so that no one would know. He put Her upon his head and came to Axum with Mənilək. There was a might wind and it laid waste the houses and the camp of Solomon. Then Solomon said to the priests (**23^{rb}**), 'Let you see Zion, the Ark of our Law'. They looked and said 'She is there'. The wind become strong and he said to them again, 'Is Zion present upon Her altar?' They replied 'Yes, She is there'. Then, when the tempest got stronger, Solomon was angered and he said to them, 'Let you uncover Her garments'. And they did not find Her. Then they told Solomon and again he was angered very much. He sent all his troops and his army to bring back Zion from Mənilək. As for Mənilək and his army as they were going their way ‡…‡ (**23va**) [whereas] Solomon had mountains and trees [rather than] roads. All the rough places of the road became level before them; and they reached the sea carrying Zion. Then it was divided for them. And they crossed it on foot as if it were dry.[111] For if the Law had come forth, and the salt of priesthood, power and victory and the orphan ‡…‡. As for the lion, if he has not eaten the plant of victory, then he will not have power and victory. In the same manner, priests and kings will not have the salt of priesthood for priests, and will not have power (**23^{vb}**) and victory for kings, unless they are blessed by Zion. Afterwards, the sea returned to the way it was before.

110 Cf. 2 Sam. 6:10–11. The Hebrew text has Obededom; the LXX has instead *Abeddara*, which the Gəʿəz follows.

111 The next few lines, which discontinuously interrupt the narrative, appear to have originally been a marginal comment which was later incorporated into the main text. The narrative continues with 'Afterwards, the sea returned …'.

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And then the army of Solomon arrived. When they saw Her, their bowels were inflamed and their hearts burned, and they fell down on their faces and rolled around on the earth. And they turned back weeping. As for Mənilək who was 'son of the wise' and his army, they arrived at Axum carrying Zion, the Ark of God. And they made a camp there, and placed Her in their midst. And they built Her a beautiful decorated chamber. That day, (**24ra**) the 21st of *Ḫədar*, was Her first return from captivity to Her home; and it is Her second coming to the land of Axum. Therefore, they celebrate a great feast to Her on the 21st day of every month, and especially on *Ḫədar* 21. She lived according to the law of Torah until Christ was born of the Holy Virgin. When He was born, they lived with Her priests for a long time without knowing the birth of Christ.

Then, *abba* Sälama came from the country of Egypt to Axum. And he (**24^{rb}**) said to the priests of Zion, 'According to which law are you [ruled]?' They replied 'The law of the Torah [Old Testament]'. He said to them, 'Do you not know that the hope of our father Adam, the covenant of Abraham and the promise of David have been fulfilled? The law has passed and the Law of the Gospel, of good tidings has arisen [in its stead]; and He has given us grace upon grace.[112] He elevated His Mother our Lady Mary from the ranks of the angels and mankind; the hosts of angels and men have bowed down to Her; Heaven (**24va**) and earth were made for the glory of Her majesty; angeles and men were created for Her; your Ark of Law was named by the name which they likened to gold: Zion, meaning Mary meaning 'protection'; He became man like us only without sin. After He became man, He was [still] precisely perfect God. He chose the Twelve and named them 'Apostles'; He named the Twelve. There were thirty-six (**24^{vb}**) women who were helping Him; He said to His disciples 'Go and preach to all the nations'; He told his twelve disciples His hidden, name which vanquishes the demons, saying: 'Iyahi, Surahi, Dimahel, Aqbadir, Minater, Anan'el, Kenya, Giyon, Seqa, Ṣeqa, Sätänawi, Iya'el, Amanu'el, aḥadu[113] Räda'e, Afra'el, Maryon, Mənatur, Il'el, El, Ako, Elohe, Hiṭa, Hida, Awyaya, (**25ra**) Ṣäbaʿot, Af, Afyakiro, Lahi, Lahi, Lahi, Mästädəyos, Afur, Afur, Afur, Afryon, Afnata, Lahan, Lahan, Lahan, Surafel; and there is no other God except Him in the heavens above and in the earth below. The Lord Jesus Christ, (Lord) of Hosts is one, Holy, Holy, Holy; He will not die a second time forever and ever; He lived for thirty three years and three months on earth walking among (**25^{rb}**) us; He taught the law of the Gospel saying: 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand'; He commanded the Six Words of the Gospel: 'I was hungry and you

112 John 1:16.

113 I.e. 'one'.

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gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed Me and gave Me lodging, I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you came and talked to Me';[114] He taught us the faith in the Holy Trinity Father, Son and Holy Spirit, three in (**25va**) person and one in Divinity and in sovereignty; He gave us the garment of baptism, which cleanses (us) of our sins; He gave us His Flesh and Blood, in order that we eat and drink in purity so that we may be united to Him; He gave us the Key to the Kingdom of Heaven saying 'Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loosen on earth shall be loosened in heaven';[115] He made us His inheritors; He named us brethren with (**25^{vb}**)Him; the Jews crucified Him and He rose from the dead on the third day, and on the fortieth day He ascended to heaven; and He sent us the Holy Spirit on the tenth day, and He will come to judge the living and the dead; He gave us His glorious Cross, the vanquisher of our enemy, so that the army of the Devil may not approach us; He captured the dead in His blood; He set us free from the dominion of the Devil; He gave us the Gospel, which tells the good news of hope in the kingdom of (**26ra**) Heaven and He taught all these teachings. He said, 'Keep My Words and be steadfast in My commandments'; He said, 'Come and enter the narrow gate; He said to us, 'Unless you surpass ‡…‡ in justice the Scribes and the Pharisees, then you will not enter the kingdom of Heaven'; He said, 'I have not come to abolish the Law and the Prophets but rather to fulfill them' '.[116]

[He asked them], 'Have not you heard all this?' They said 'We have not heard and we have not known'. (**26^{rb}**) He said to them, 'I told you, [but] do you not believe it'. And they replied to him, 'Yes, we do believe if they speak to us of the hope of our father Adam, saying, 'I [Jesus] will be born of your [i.e. Adam] daughter and I will creep into your plain, and I will redeem you by My Cross'. As for our father Abraham, it says 'I will make you father for many people and by your seed all peoples of the earth will be blessed'.[117] And Moses says, 'He will raise up for you a prophet like me among your brothers.[118] Whoever does not hearken (**26va**) to that prophet, she shall uproot him from Her people'. As for David, it says 'For the Lord has chosen Zion; and He has prefered Her for His habitation. She is My resting place for ever.[119] At your right hand stands the

114 Cf. Mtt. 25:35–36.
115 Cf. Mtt. 16:19.
116 Mtt. 5:17.
117 Gen. 17:5.
118 Deut. 18:15.
119 Ps. 132:13–14.

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Queen clothed in garments of gold, multicolored'. As for Isaiah it says: 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive; and bear a Son; and shall call His name Jesus[120] for He will save His people from their sins'. As for Daniel, it says: 'The Temple will be built (**26^{vb}**) up until Christ the King'. As for Micah, it says: 'O Bethlehem, land of Ephratah, you shall not be lower than the kings of Judah; from you shall come forth the King who will shephered my people Israel'.[121] Then they told him [*abba* Sälama], 'If all these the words of the Torah and the prophets have been fulfilled, then let you baptize us'. And our father Sälama rejoiced. However, he was afraid to baptize them without the permission of the Archbishop. Then, he told (**27ra**) them, 'I will go to the Archbishop[122] and tell him. Then the one whom he will sent will baptize you'. They replied to him, 'As you like'. Then he went to the Archbishop, and he [the Archbishop] ordained our father Sälama a bishop. He sent him to the land of Ethiopia and he said to him, 'Go [and] teach them and baptize them, and ordain[123] them priests and deacons'. Then our father Sälama returned and baptized them with the baptism of Christianity and he ordained them priests and deacons. They rejoiced with a great joy (**27^{rb}**). And the circumstances of his first coming were like this: A certain man named Meropeyos, the master of the wise, came from Greece wishing to see the land of Ethiopia. And with him there were two boys of his kinsfolk. The name of the first was Fremənaṭos[124] and the other's was Adəsəyos, and there were some who named him Sidrakos. Then he [Meropeyos] reached the shores of the land of Egypt, the freemen, by ship. He saw all the good things that his heart was seeking for. When he wanted (**27va**) to return to his country, enemies rose up against him and killed him together with all who were with him. The two young boys were spared. Then the people of the country captured them and taught them the art of fighting. They brought them as a gift to the king of Axum, named Al-Ada.[125] The King appointed Adəsəyos as steward of the house of Qäṭṭin,[126] and Fremənaṭos as guardian of the law and scribe of Axum. After a short period of time, the king (**27^{vb}**) died, leaving [his] young son with his mother. And ʾIllä-Azguag reigned.[127] Adəsəyos and Frumentius brought up the

120 Cf. Isa. 7:14. The Bible text has Immanuel not Jesus.

121 Cf. Micah 5: 1.

122 I.e. Athanasius, the Coptic Archbishop.

123 Lit. 'appoint'.

124 The text divides his name into two words: **ፍሬ፡ ምናጦስ፡**.

125 According to the Ethiopian sources, the king was named **አልአሜዳ፡** Al'ameda, the father of 'Ezana.

126 *Qäṭṭin*, 'servant, resident servant, domestic' (cf. Leslau 1987: 453).

127 The verb 'reigned' is in the plural.

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child and taught him, little by little, the faith of Christ, praise be to Him. They built a chapel for him and gathered children around him to teach them psalms and hymns. When he grew up and reached adulthood, ‡…‡ their country. Then, Adəsəyos [went to] (28ra) his country Tyre to see his parents. As for Frumentius, he reached Alexanderia, to Athanasius the archbishop. He found him newly appointed in office; and he told him everything that had happened to him and about the faith of the land of the freemen;[128] that they believed in Christ, praise be to Him, but that they had no bishops nor priests nor deacons. Consequently, Athanasius ordained Frumentius bishop for the land of Ethiopia, the freemen (28^{rb}), and he sent him (forth) with great honor. And he reached the land of the freemen, which is Axum, bearing the Gospel on the 18th of *Taḫsas*[129] during the reign of Abrəha and Aṣbəḥa. And he preached with the peace of Christ, praise be to Him forever. ‡…‡ and all its surroundings. For this reason he was named *abba* Sälama and he converted the people of Ethiopia in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. As for their faith, [it was introduced] 430[130] years after the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ (28va). Then our father died on the twenty-sixth of *Ḥamle*,[131] in the peace of the Lord. Therefore, it is fitting for us to celebrate his commemoration for he is our father and teacher Sälama. A firm covenant was bestowed upon him from our Lord Jesus Christ and from our Lady Virgin St. Mary, the Mother of God. He who celebrates his commemoration and who calls upon his name and who writes the book of his struggle shall not see damnation forever and ever.

After that (28^{vb}), the Nine Saints came to the land of the freemen. These are *abba* Ṗänṭälewon, *abba* Zämika'el who was Arägawi from the land of Alexandria, *abba* Liqanos of Constantinople, *abba* Yəmʿata of Qosya, *abba* Guba from Qilqya (Cilicia), *abba* Ṣəḥma from Antioch, *abba* Afṣe from Asia, *abba* Mäṭaʿ from Rome, and *abba* Oṣ from Caesarea, in order to water the garden of our father Sälama with the water of their teaching, and they watered it. And *abba* Zämika'el (29ra) who was Arägawi ordained *abba* Krəstos Beza a monk; and *abba* Krəstos Beza begot[132] *abba* Mäsqäl Moʿa and *abba* Yoḥanni; and *abba* Yoḥanni begot *abba* Iyäsus Moʿa in garb and girdle; and Iyäsus Moʿa begot *abba* Täklä Haymanot in garb and girdle. In the same manner, *abba* Täklä Haymanot after going out from Ḥayq ascended to Däbrä Dammo, and he received monas-

128 ብሔረ፡ አግአዚ፡ i.e. Ethiopians.

129 Twenty-seventh of December.

130 This is far removed from the time of Frumentius (one century after him). It should be corrected to AD 330/340.

131 I.e. second of August.

132 'Begot' is used here in a spiritual sense, not a biological one.

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tic cap and cloak from the hand of *abba* Yohanni. After receiving the monastic cap and cloak, he went down to (**29^{rb}**) Jerusalem thrice, once in summer ‡…‡. And he met a certain dead [man] on the road and raised him up after twelve years.[133] Then he returned from Jerusalem, with the man who had been raised (from the dead) following him. Then he invested him with the garb of monasticism and named him 'Ar'ayännä Ṣäggahu'.[134] He reached the land of Tigre and there he begot the mother of Ewosṭatewos, and *abba* Täklä Haymanot (sic); and *abba* Ewosṭatewos begot *abba* Danə'el and many children. And *abba* Danə'el begot Abba Ewosṭatewos for he is the brother of his mother (**29va**). Then *abba* Täklä Haymanot went Ḥayq and met Iyäsus Moʿa and Iyäsus Moʿa said to him 'O my son, let you be a father to me'. He gave him a monastic cap and cloak and he was a father to him. Subsequently, he went to the land of Šäwa and taught there many. He converted [many] to the belief in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. He did many miracles and wonders, which cannot be counted. All this was done by the power of the prayer of the refuge of the world, our Lady St. Mary, the twofold (**29^{vb}**) Virgin, of the sweet name, the Mother of God. Let Her prayer and blessings, and the mercy of Her beloved Son, be with …… Forever and ever, amen and amen, let it be, let it be.

O our Lady Mary, the refuge of many thousands;

You are the helper of those who are in the sea and the abyss;

Let You help me in the time of falling and made me raised by (Your) wing;

For I, Your servant … love You from the bottom of my heart, not (merely) by mouth (**30ra**); forever and ever, Amen (**30^{rb}**).

3 [P]—Published Text

3.1 Täʾammərä Ṣəyon Maryam *'Miracles of Mary Zion'*

3.1.1 Text

ተአምረ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ማርያም ።[135]

፩ ፡ ተአምር ፡

፩ ተአምሪሃ[136] **፡ ለጽዮን ፡ እምነ ፡ ሰማያዊት ፡ ጸሎታ ፡ ወበረከታ ፡ የሃሉ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሕዝበ ፡ ክርስቲያን ። ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ።**

133 The man had been dead for 12 years.

134 Lit. 'He showed us His grace'.

135 There are eight miracles of Zion listed in this printed text (pp. 265–280). I followed the paragraph numbers as they are given in the printed text. In the printed text, words are separated only by a space, not by a 'colon' ፡. Sentences are separated by four dots ።.

136 **ተምሪሃ ፡** P.

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፪. በእንተ፡ አምልኮ፡ ጣዖት፤ ስምዑ፡ ንንግርክሙ፡ ኵልክሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን። ወኵሉ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ለተግሣፀ፡ ዚአነ፡ ተጽሕፈ፡ [ሮሜ፡] ፲፭፥፬። ወሀለው፡ ፭ዱ፡ ብእሲ፡ እምደቂቀ፡ አዳም፡ ዘስሙ፡ ሴሩህ። ወተወልደ፡ ሎቱ፡ ለሴሩህ፡ ወልድ፡ ዘስሙ፡ ብኑ። ተወጥነ፡ አምልኮ፡ ጣኦት። ወጎበ፡ መቃብሩሂ፡ በቆለት፡ ዕፅ፡ እኪት[137]፡ ሰይጣናዊት፡ ዘታሥዕር፡ ጾመ። ወናሁ፡ ዘርዐ፡ ፀራዊ፡ እንዘ፡ ያመጽእ፡ እምጎበ፡ ሀለወት። ማቴ. ፲፫፥፳፭።

፫. ወስመ፡ ብኑ፡ ተብህለት፡ ቡነ። ወሀለዉ፡ ዕፅ፡ ሠናይ፡ ወዕፅ፡ እኩይ፡ እምዘተፈጥሩ፡ በዕለተ፡ ሠሉስ[138]፡ በከመ፡ ይብል፡ ወንጌለ፡ ማቴዎስ፡ ዕፅ፡ ሠናይ፡ ሠናየ፡ ወዕፅ፡ እኩይ፡ እኩየ፡ ይፈሪ። ፯፥፲፰።

፬. ወበእንተዝ፡ ኮነት፡ መሥዋዕቶሙ፡ ለደቂቀ፡ እስማኤላውያን። ወትበጽሕ፡ እስከ፡ ነቢዮሙ፡ መሐመድ፡ ወሊቆሙ፡ ለተንባላት። ወተንባላትሰ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘይሰውኡ፡ ዘእንበሌሃ። ወእስከ፡ ይእዜሂ፡ እንዘ፡ ታስሕት፡ ሰብአ፡ ወታስዕር፡ ጾመ፡ ወበዓለ፡ በብሂለ፡ አጎዘነ፡ ሕማመ፡ ርእስነ። ወያስህቶሙ፡ ሰይጣነ፡ ዛር፡ ዘጎዱር፡ ላዕሌሆሙ። ወእምዝ፡ ይትሐጐል፡ ቍርባን፡ ወየሐልፍ፡ ጊዜ፡ ቅዳሴ፡ በይነ፡ ሰትዮቶሙ፡ በጊዜ፡ ነግህ።

፭. ወስምዑሂ፡ ሀሎ፡ በትርጓሜ፡ ምሳሌያተ፡ ሰሎሞን፡ ወይብል፡ እኩይ፡ ሰብእ፡ ዘምስለ፡ ጽእለቱ፡ ይገብር፡ እኵየ። ፲፫፥፲። ወናሁ፡ ጎዲገነ፡ ጽእለተ፡ እመ፡ ኃደግነ፡ ሰትየ፡ ምንት፡ የሐፅፀነ። ወለእመ፡ ሰተይነ፡ ምንት፡ ይበቍኅነ። ወይቤ፡ ትርጓሜ፡ ወንጌለ፡ ሉቃስ፡ ወዮሐንስ፡ ምሉዓ፡ መንፈስ፡ ወኢዘያሰክር፡ ኢሰትየ። ሉቃ ፩፥፲፫። ወንህነሰ፡ ነግእነ፡ ጸጋ፡ መንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ በ፵፡ ዕለት፡ በበይነ፡ ምንት፡ ይከው[ን፡] ሥጋነ፡ ማኅደረ፡ ሰይጣነ፡ ዘር።

፮. ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ሰማያዊት፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፪፡ ተአምር፤

፩. ተአምሪሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ኵልነ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን። ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (*P. 265*).

፪. ወስምዑ[139]፡ ካዕበ፡ ንንግርክሙ፡ ነገር፡ ዘያጸንእ፡ አእምሮ፡ ወያጠይቅ፡ ልቡናሰ። ወ፭ዱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘስሙ፡ መሐመድ፡ መምህረ፡ ተንባላት። ወእምብዝኃ፡ ክሕደቱ፡ ይውዕል፡ ምስለ፡ አጋንንት። ወበአሐቲ፡ ዕለት፡ እንዘ፡ ይሰግድ፡ ተእኅዘ፡ በፅኑዕ፡ ሕማመ፡ ፍልፀት፡ ዘርእስ፡ ዘአኅዘቶ፡ እምንእሱ። ወእንዘ፡ ይፄዕር፡[140] በዝንቱ፡ ሕማመ፡ ርዕስ፡ ወእምዕለታት፡ በአሐቲ፡ ዕለት፡ መጽአ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ከመ፡ ያስሕቶ፡ በትምይንት። ወይቤሎ፡ ምንተ፡ ኮንከ፡ መሐመድ፡ ፍቍርየ። ወዘይከውን፡[141]፡ ቡቱ፡ ሕማመ፡ ላዕሌሁ[142]፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ውእቱ።

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137 እኩይ፡ P.

138 ሰ'፡ P.

139 'ኡ፡ P.

140 ይፄአር፡ P.

141 'ኒ፡ P.

142 ላሊሁ፡ P.

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፫. ወአውሥአ፡ መሐመድ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ሀለወኒ፡ ሕማመ፡ ርዕስ። በዝንቱ፡ ሕማም፡ እፄዐር[143]። ወይቤሎ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ለመሐመድ፡ ለእመ፡ ነገርኩከ፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ርእስከ፡ ትፈጽምኑ፡ ጻሕቀ፡ ልብየ። ወይቤሎ፡ መሐመድ፡ እወ፡ እሰምዕ፡ ለእመ፡ አሕዮከኒ፡ ኵሎ፡ ዘትቤለኒ፡ እገብር።

፬. ወእምዝ፡ አምጽአ፡ ሎቱ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ፫ተ፡ ዕፅዋተ፡ ዘውእቶሙ፡ ዕፀ፡ ጌት፡ ዕፀ፡ ኩስራ፡ ወዕፀ፡ ሰጥራጢስ። ወሀበ፡ ለመሐመድ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ንሣእ፡ ዘንተ፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ዕፀ፡ ኩስራ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ቡን፡ ለእመ፡ ሰተይከ፡ እምኔሃ፡ ተሃዩ፡ ፍጡነ፡ እምሕማመ፡ ርእስከ፡ ወትከውን፡ መስዋዕተ፡ ውስተ፡ ⸢መካ፡ መዲና[144]፡ ለትውልደ፡ ትውልድ። ወአርአዮ፡ ኵሎ፡ ምግባረ፡ ርኩሰ።

፭. ወቀለወ፡ መሐመድ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዕፀ፡ ኩስራ[145]። ዕፀ፡ ኩስራ፡ ብሒል፡ ርኩስ፡ ውእቱ። ወአርሰነ፡ ብርተ፡ ሐፂን። ወይቤሎ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ግበር፡ በአምሳለ፡ መልክእየ። ወቀለወ፡ መሐመድ። ወአስተማሲሎ፡ ከመ፡ ፍሕም፡ ጸሊም። ወይቤሎ፡ ካዕበ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ለእመ፡ ኢገበርከ፡ በአምሳለ፡ መልክእየ፡ ኢትሠምር፡ ለመስዋዕት። ወኮሎ፡ ዘይቤሎ፡ ገብረ፡ ወሰትየ፡ እምኔሃ፡ መሐመድ፡ ወጎይወ፡ እምሕማመ፡ ፍልፀት፡ ለንስቲት፡ ሰዓት። ወጸኒሆ፡ ይትነሣእ፡ ቦቱ፡ ሕማመ፡ ርእሱ፡ በበሰዓት።

፮. ኦ፡ ጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ጸሎትኪ፡ ወበረከትኪ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ኵልነ፡ ውሉደ[146]፡ ጥምቀት፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም። አሜን።

፪ (sic)፡ ተአምር፤

፩. ተአምሪሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ሰማያዊት፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ኵልነ፡ ውሉደ፡ ጥምቀት፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፪. ወሶበ፡ ይሰውዕሰ፡ መሐመድ፡ ዕፀ፡ ኩስራ፡ ወይሰግድ፡ ይመጽእ፡ ሶቤሃ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ጎቤሁ፡ እምብዝኀ፡ ፍቅረ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘይትበሃል፡ ፍርቃን፡ ዘይትረከብ፡ ምዕራፍ፡ ፷ወ፭ቱ፡ ጺሒፍሰ[147]፡ ጽሐፎ[148]። ወባሕቱ፡ ከመ፡ ኢያንብብዎ፡ ሕፅሮ። ወሶበ፡ ይቤሎ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ለመሐመድ፡ መሀሮሙ[149]፡ ለአብያጺከ፡ ተንባላት፡ ከመ፡ ኢያንብብዎ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ። (P. 266).

፫. ወዘንተ፡ ትዕዛዘ፡ አጽኒኦሙ፡ ተንባላት፡ ይጽሕፍዎ። ከመ፡ ኢያንብብዎ፡ የሐጽርዎ፡ አውደ። ወዘንተ፡ ትእዛዘ፡ ተአዲዎ፡ ዘአንበበ፡ ወዘተርጎመ፡ ይትረገም፡ አሥራዊ[150]፡ ይትበተክ፡ አእፅምቲሁ፡ ይሰበር፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ይህበጥ፡ ወልሳኑ፡ ይትመተር፡ ወዐይኑ፡ ይፁር።

፬. ወዘንተ፡ ብሂለከ፡ አውግዝ፡ ይቤሎ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ለመሐመድ። ወእምዝ፡ አውገዞሙ፡ መሐመድ፡ ለአዝማዲሁ፡ መተንብላን። ወዘሃፀሮሰ፡ ጽሕፈቱ፡ ይብል፡ ሻውዚን፡ ነፋሕነ፡ ወረምሃ፡ ላቲ፡ አህሰነት፡ ኢናበሐ። ወዝንቱ፡ ብሒል፡ በዘአጽንአት፡ ድንግልና፡ በመሪማ፡

143 እፄአር፡ P.
144 መካመዲና፡ P.
145 ኮ'፡ P.
146 ወለደ፡ P.
147 ጺሕፈሰ፡ P.
148 ጸሐፎ፡ P.
149 መሐ' P.
150 'ው፡ P.

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አላሆች፡ አሐዱ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ ይወርድ፡ ወይትወለድ። ወሰደቀት፡ በከሊማቲ፡ ረቢሃ፡ በሃት፡ ነቢ። ዝንቱ፡ ብሒል፡ ተወልደ፡ ዘእንበለ፡[151] ታእምር፡ ብእሴ፡ ወለደት።

፩. አላህ፡ ብሂል፡ አምላክ፡ አላሆች፡ ብሂል፡ ሥላሴ፡ እምጥንቱ፡ ሠለስቱ፡ አካላት። ወተንበላትሰ፡ ይብሉ፡ በፍርቃን፡ እንጅሎሙ፡ (ወንጌሎሙ)፡ እምሠለስቱ[152]፡ አካላት፡ አሐዱ፡ አካል፡ እምሰማያት፡ ወረደ። ወተወልደ፡ እምድንግል። ዘይብልዎሰ፡ ‡...‡ የሐጽርዎ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይትሃበሉ፡ ሕገ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ወውግዘተ፡ መሐመድ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይህልፉ፡ አምላክ፡ ኢወረደ፡ ወኢተወልደ፡ ይብሉ፡ ወለባዕዳንሰ፡ ይሜህሩ።

፪. ወዕፅዋትሂ፡ ሠለስቱ፡ ዕፀ፡ ጌት፡ ወዕፀ፡ ኩስራ፡ ወዕፀ፡ ስጥራጢስ፡ እመ፡ ተፈልጠ፡ ስሞሙ፡ ወመልክአሙ፡ ወግብሮሙሰ፡ አሐዱ። እሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ መስዋዕቱ፡ ወቁርባኑ፡ ለመሐመድ፡ ውስተ፡ መካ፡ መዲና። ወዝኩሉ፡ ዘተገብረ፡ በምድረ፡ ግብፅ፡ ውእቱ።

፫. ወምክንያተ፡ ምጽአቶሙሰ፡ ጎበ፡ ምድረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ንነግረክሙ። አቦል፡ [ወ]ቶና፡ [ወ]በረካ፡ ዘተምህሩ፡ እምአዝማደ፡ መሐመድ፡ አምጽእዎሙ[153]፡ ለሠለስቱ፡ ዕፅዋት፡ በእንተ፡ ዘነበሩ፡ እንዘ፡ ይሰውኡ። ወእንዘ፡ ይትማሐሉ[154]፡ መጽኡ፡ ጎበ፡ ምድረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ ከመ፡ ያስሕቱ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ወይመይጥዎሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ሃይማኖቶሙ። ወመጽኡ፡ ምስሌሆሙ፡ ፮ቱ፡ መተንብላን፡ እምግብፅ፡ ለነጊድ፡ ጎበ፡ ምድረ፡ ኢትዮጵያ፡ እሂዞሙ፡ ሠለስተ፡ ዕፅዋተ፡ ዕፀ[155]፡ ጌት፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ጫት፡ ዕፀ[156]፡ ኩስራ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ቡን፡ ዕፀ፡ ስጥራጢስ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ ጥንባሆ። እሉ፡ እሙንቱ፡ ቁርባኖሙ፡ ለአምሬዎን (sic)፡ ወለመሐመዳዊያን።

፮. ወለክርስቲያንሰ፡ ኢይደልዎሙ፡ በሊአቶሙ፡ ወሰትዮ[ቶ]ሙ፡ ለእሉ፡ ዕፅዋት። ወዘበልዑ፡ ወዘሰትዩ፡ ይከውን፡ ኩነኔሁሙ (sic)፡ ከመ፡ ዘኢተጠምቁ፡ ወንብረቶሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ገሐነም። ወይቤ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ አዳምሰ፡ ቀዳሚ፡ ልሁክቱ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር። በአምሳሊሁ፡ ተፈጥረ፡ መቅድመ፡ ኵሉ፡ ፍጥረት። ስህተ፡ በበሊዓ፡ ዕፅ። ወጽአ፡ ወተሰደ፡ እምገነት። ወበእንተዝ፡ እብለክሙ፡ አኃውየ[157]፡ ኢትስሃቱ፡ በእሉ፡ ዕፅዋት። ለእመ፡ ተደለውክሙ፡ ለበሊአቶሙ፡ ወለስትዮቶሙ (sic)፡ ኢትሑሩ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወኢትደለዉ፡ ጎበ፡ ቁርባን፡ ከመ፡ ኢታርኩሱ፡ ቤቶ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር።

፱. ኦ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስት፡ ሰማያዊት፡ እቀብነ፡ ለኵልነ፡ ሕዝበ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (P. 267).

፬፡ ተአምር፤

በእንተ፡ ተአምር፡ ዘተገብረት፡ ላዕለ፡ ታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፤

፩. ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

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151 'በበለ (sic)፡ P.

152 እምሰ' P.

153 ወ' P.

154 ይትመሐሉ፡ P.

155 ወዕፀ፡ P.

156 ዕፅ፡ P.

157 አሀ' P.

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፪. ዛቲ፡ ተአምር፡ ዘገብረት፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ለ፩ዱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ፍቁረ፡ ዚአሃ፡ ወፍቁረ፡ ወልዳ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ።

፫. ወሀለወት፡ ውስተ፡ ጽርሐ፡ መንግሥቱ፡ አሐቲ፡ ታቦት፡ ዘሥርዕት፡ በስማ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ዘአንበርዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ከርሰ፡ ሣፁን፡ እምቅድመ፡ ይቀድስዋ።

፬. ወእምዝ፡ ረከብዋ፡ ወሚኣ፡ እምውሣጤ፡ ሣፁን፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ይትረኅው፡ መንሠገ፡ ማኅተመ፡ ሣፁን፡ ነቢራ፡ መልዕልተ፡ ሜላት፡ ዘሐሪር።

፭. ወርእዮሙ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዐቀብተ፡ ቤተ፡ መዛግብተ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ደንገፁ፡ ፈድፋደ። ወሖሩ፡ በጕጕዓ። ወነገርዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ኵሎ፡ ዘኮነ፡ በእንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ታቦት።

፮ ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንጉሥ፡ አምጽኡኬ፡ ወአርእዩኒ፡ ኪያሃ፡ ታቦተ፡ ዘነገርክሙኒ፡ ዕበያቲሃ። ወአምጽእዋ።

፯. ወሶበ፡ ርእየ፡ ሥና፡ ለታቦት፡ አንከረ፡ ወተፈሥሐ፡ ወግብተ፡ በጊዜሃ፡ ፈነዋ፡ ኅበ፡ ጳጳስ፡ ምስለ፡ ሊቃነ፡ ካህናት፡ ወቀሳውስት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ ብዙኃን፡ ከመ፡ ይቀድሳ። (P. 268).

፰ ወተቀደሰት፡ ይእቲ፡ ታቦት፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ለአብ፡ ክቡር፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳስት (sic)፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ።

፱. ወአእተውዋ፡ በክብር፡ ወበስብሐት፡ ወበማኅሌት፡ ብዙኅ።

፲. ወነገርዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ብጽሐታ፡ ለታቦት። ወሶቤሃ፡ ወጽአ፡ ለቀበላሃ፡ ለይእቲ፡ ታቦት፡ በብዙኅ፡ ይባቤ፡ በአንፍሖ፡ አቅርንት፡ ወብዕዛ፡ ወናብሊስ፡ ወበቃለ፡ መሰናቁት፡ ወአርጋኖን፡ ወዝብጠተ፡ ከበሮ።

፲፩. ወአሠነየ፡ ላቲ፡ ማኅደረ። ወተከለ፡ ሐይመተ፡ ጸሊመ፡ ዘኅብረ፡ ኳኳ። ወአብኣ፡ ህየ፡ ከመ፡ ትኅድር።

፲፪. ወአመ፡ ኮነ፡ ሳኒታ፡ ዕለት፡ ተረክበት፡ ይእቲ፡ ሐይመት፡ ጸላም፡ ከዊና፡ ፅዕዱተ፡ ከመ፡ ዘበረድ።

፲፫. ወነገርዎ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ።

፲፬. ወወሀበ፡ አምኃ፡ ብዙኅ (sic)፡ ዘይትፈቀድ፡ ለሥርዓተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን።

፲፭ ወዓዲ፡ ዐቀመ፡ ላቲ፡ እለ፡ ይነፍሑ፡ አቅርንተ፡ ብዙኃነ፡ አግብርተ።

፲፮ ወዓዲ፡ ሠርዐ፡ ላቲ፡ ካህናተ፡ ወዲያቆናተ፡ እለ፡ ይትቀነዩ፡ በበጊዜሁ፡ ሌሊተ፡ ወመዓልተ።

፲፯ ዘንተ፡ ኵሎ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ገብረ፡ ወፈጸመ፡ ላቲ፡ ውእቱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ፍቅረ፡ ዚአሃ፡ ወጠኑ፡ በበሥርዓቶሙ፡ አግብርትኒ፡ ከመ፡ ይንፍሑ፡ አቅርንተ፡ ወካህናትኒ፡ ከመ፡ ይኅልዩ፡ ማኅሌታተ፡ በትዕግልት፡ ወበትዕቢት፡ ወበዛውዐ፡ ነገር፡ ወበአብዝኖ፡ ሰሐቅ፡ በከመ፡ ገብሩ፡ ልማደ፡ ውስተ፡ ካልኣት፡ አብያተ፡ ክርስቲያናት። (P. 269).

፲፰ ወበጊዜሃ፡ ተምዐት፡ ላዕሌሆሙ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን።

፲፱ ቦ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ እለ፡ ተዐፀወ፡ ጕርዔሆሙ፡ ወቦ፡ እለ፡ ሐመ፡ ርእሶሙ፡ ወቦ፡ እለ፡ ደወዩ፡ አማዑተ፡ ከርሦሙ።

፳ ወኮኑ፡ ኵሎሙ፡ ሕሙማነ፡ በዘዚአሁ፡ ደዌ።

፳፩ ወለንጉሥኒ፡ አስተርአየቶ፡ ወትቤሎ፡ ኢታቅርብ፡ ኅቤየ፡ እሎንተ፡ ዕቡያነ፡ ወዝሁራነ፡ እስመ፡ ኢአደመኒ፡ ማኅሌቶሙ፡ ወስብሐቲሆሙ፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ አቡየ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወቅብዐ፡ ኃጥአንሰ፡ ኢይትቀባዕ፡ ርእስየ።

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፭፪ ወዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ እምድኅረ፡ ሰምዐ፡ እምአፈ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ አዘዞሙ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይባኡ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓፀደ፡ ይእቲ፡ መካን፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ንጹሓን፡ ካህናት፡ ለጊዜ፡ አዕርጎ፡ ቍርባን።

፭፫ ወአቅረባ፡ ኀቢሁ፡ ለይእቲ፡ ታቦት፡ ጽዮን። ወበጊዜ፡ ረከቦ፡ ትካዝ፡ ወኃዘን፡ ይጼሊ፡ ኃቤሃ፡ ወይረክብ፡ በከመ፡ ሐለየ፡ ወበከመ፡ ተመነየ።

፭፬ ወሰመየ፡ ስማ፡ ባሕታዊት፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም።

፭፭ ወሀለወት፡ ይእቲ፡ ታቦት፡ ውስተ፡ ዓፀደ፡ ንጉሥ፡ እስከ፡ ዛቲ፡ ዕለት።

፭፮ ወነገሥታትሂ፡ እንዘ፡ ይቄስኩ፡ ላቲ፡ ዕበየ፡ ወክብረ፡ በበዘመኖሙ።

፭፯ ወአልቦ፡ ዘይበውእ፡ ወዘይቀርብ፡ ኀቤሃ፡ እስከ፡ ዮም፡ ዘቦ፡ ጥልቀተ፡ ጌጋይ፡ ወነውረ፡ ሕሊና። (P. 270).

፭፰ ወእለሂ፡ ይቀርቡ፡ በድፍረት፡ ወበኀፍረተ፡ [ገጸ፡] ሰብእ፡ ይወድቁ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ደዌ፡ እስከ፡ ይብሉ፡ ወይ፡ ለነ፡ ወአሌ፡ ለነ።

፭፱ ወይቤሉ፡ ረከበተነ፡ ዛቲ፡ መቅሠፍት፡ በድፍረትነ፡ እንዘ፡ ነአምር፡ ወንጌይቅ፡ ዘበፍርሀተ፡ ገፀ፡ ሰብእ፡ ተጎንዮልነ።

፮፬ ስምዑኬ፡ አ፡ ማኅበራኒሃ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቅድስት።

፮፭ ኢትረስዩ፡ ልማደ፡ በዊአ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ንጽሕ፡ ወኑዛዜ፡ እስመ፡ ሀለዉ፡ ትጉሃን፡ ወንጹሓን፡ መላእክት፡ ዘየዐቅብዋ፡ ወትረ።

፮፮ ወይትቤቀሉ፡ ላቲ፡ ለዝሉ፡ ዘይቀርብ፡ ኀቤሃ፡ በርስሐተ፡ ኃጢአት፡ እስመ፡ ወሀባ፡ ኪዳነ፡ መርዓዊሃ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ እመቦ፡ ስዑብ፡ ወዘኢኮነ፡ ንጹሐ፡ ይትገኀሥ።

፮፯ ወአኮ፡ በስዕበተ፡ ምስካብ፡ ባሕቲቱ፡ ዘአዘዘ፡ ተግኅሦ፡ እምቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ አላ፡ ዳዕሙ፡ ሐማዩኒ፡ ወቀታሊኒ።

፮፰ ወዝሉ፡ ዘአንበረ፡ ቂመ፡ ወበቀለ፡ ውስተ፡ ልቡ፡ ኢይባእ፡ እስመ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ጌጋይ፡ ውእቱ።

፮፱ ወለክሙኒ፡ እለ፡ ዝየ፡ ሀለውክሙ፡ ለሰሚዐ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ እመ፡ እግዚእክሙ፡ ዕድ፡ ወአንስት፡ አእሩግ፡ ወሕጻናት፡ ዘበአስማቲክሙ፡ ይደይ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ፍርሐተ፡ ዚአሁ፡ በውስተ፡ ሥጋክሙ።

፯፬ ወመዓልተ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስሌክሙ፡ ወሌሊተ፡ ይኩን፡ ማዕከሌክሙ። (P. 271).

፯፭ በእንተ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወደሙ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ማርያም፡ እሙ፡ ይስረይ፡ ለክሙ፡ አበሳክሙ፡ ወኃጣዊእክሙ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፭፡ ተአምር፤

በእንተ፡ መንክር፡ ዘተገብረ፡ በመዋዕለ፡ ፭ዱ፡ ንጉሥ፤

፭ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በ፪ኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ትንብልናሃ፡ ወአስተብቍዖታ፡ የሀሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፪ ስምዑኬ፡ መንክረ፡ ወመድምመ፡ ዕበየ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ዘተገብረ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ፡ ለአሐዱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ፍቁረ፡ ዚኣሃ፡ ወፍቁረ፡ ወልዳ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ወመድኃኒነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ።

፫ ወውእቱሰ፡ ንጉሥ፡ እምብዝኅ፡ አፍቅሮቱ፡ ኪያሃ፡ ሐነፀ፡ ላቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በስማ፡ ለቡርክት፡ ወንጽሕት፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ። ወአሠርገዋ፡ በወርቅ፡ ወበብሩ (sic)፡ ወበልብሰ፡ ሜላት፡ ክቡር።

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፱ ወሚመ፡ ላቲ፡ ዓዲ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ካህናተ፡ ወዲያቆናተ፡ እለ፡ ይትቀነዩ፡ ውስቴታ፡ ሌሊተ፡ ወመዐልተ፡ በአንብቦ፡ መዝሙረ፡ ዳዊት፡ ወበማኅሌተ፡ ያሬድ፡ ወበሰዓታተ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ጊዮርጊስ።

፲ ወእምብዝኀ፡ ንዋየ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘወሀበ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ አልቦ፡ ዘይበውእ፡ ውስተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘኢየአምሮ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወዘኢየአምርዎ፡ ደቂቀ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን። (P. 272).

፲፩ ወኢይትፈለጡ፡ ካህናቲሃ፡ ሌሊተ፡ ወመዓልተ፡ እንዘ፡ የዐቅብዋ፡ በበዕብሬቶሙ።

፲፪ ወአሐተ፡ ዕለተ፡ እንዘ፡ ሀለዉ፡ የዐቅቡ፡ ካህናት፡ በኑኅ፡ ሌሊት፡ ነዊሞሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ውሳጤ፡ ቅጽራ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ አሐዱ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ ሐለመ፡ ሕልመ፡ ሌሊት፡ ወተክዕወ፡ ዘርአ፡ ሥጋ፡ ውስተ፡ ምስካቡ።

፲፫ ወእንዘ፡ ሀሎ፡ ንውመ፡ ማዕከለ፡ አብያጺሁ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘሐለመ፡ መሠጦ፡ እምቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ እንዘ፡ ኢየአምር፡ ላሊሁ (sic)፡ ወኢአብያጺሁ፡ ወአውፅአ፡ ኪያሁ፡ መልአከ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ያንቅሖ፡ እምንዋሙ፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘሐለመ። ወአኖሞ፡ አውፂአ፡ አፍአ፡ እምቅጽረ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን።

፲፬ ወአእተቶ፡ ርኁቀ፡ እምውስተ፡ ቅጽራ፡ መጠነ፡ ፫፡ እመት። ወጎደረ፡ በህየ፡ እስከ፡ ይጸብሕ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ያንሳሕስሕ፡ እምንዋሙ።

፲፭ ወሶበ፡ ነቅሐ፡ በጊዜ፡ ጽባሕ፡ ርእየ፡ ውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ላዕለ፡ ወታሕተ። ወኢያእመረ፡ ዘረከቦ፡ ወዘአውፅአ፡ ውስተ፡ ይእቲ፡ መካን።

፲፮ ወእለሂ፡ ኖሙ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ተሓመዩ፡ በበይናቲሆሙ፡ ወተበሃሉ፡ አይቴኑ፡ ሖረ፡ ዝኩ፡ ካልአነ፡ በኑኅ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ናእምር፡ ንሕነ፡ ኀዲጎ፡ ዐቂበ፡ ታቦተ፡ ንጉሥ።

፲፯ ወውእቱሰ፡ ብእሲ፡ ነቂሖ፡ እምስካቡ፡ ጸውዖሙ፡ ለአብያጺሁ። ወይቤሎሙ፡ ርእዩ፡ ኀበ፡ ኀደርኩ፡ አነ። ወኢያእመርኩ፡ ዘአውፅአኒ፡ እምውሳጤ፡ ቅጽር። ወዘፈለጠኒ፡ እማእከሌክሙ። (P. 273).

፲፰ ወተሰጠውዎ፡ አብያጺሁ፡ ወይቤልዎ፡ ምንተኑ፡ ዘረከበከ፡ እምግብረ፡ እኪያት፡ በውስተ፡ ምስካብከ።

፲፱ ወይቤሎሙ፡ እስመ፡ ሐለምኩ፡ በንዋምየ፡ ወአመ፡ ጊዜ፡ ሐለምኩሰ፡ ኢተዐውቀኒ፡ ወባሕቱ፡ ሶበ፡ ነቃሕኩ፡ እምንዋምየ፡ ኀበ፡ አስከበኒ፡ ዝኩ፡ ዘፈለጠኒ፡ እምኔክሙ፡ ይእተ፡ ጊዜ፡ ረከብኩ፡ ትእምርተ፡ ሕልም፡ በውስተ፡ አባልየ።

፳ ወሶበ፡ ሰምዑ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገሮ፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ አኃዝዎ፡ ወወሰድዎ፡ ኀበ፡ ሊቀ፡[158] ካህናት።

፳፩ ወተስእሎ፡ ሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ለውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ወነገሮ፡ ኵሎ፡ ዘከመ፡ ኮነ።

፳፪ ወእምዝ፡ ወሰዶ፡ ሊቀ፡ ካህናት፡ ወአቀሞ፡ ቅድመ፡ ዓውደ፡ ንጉሥ። ወዜነዎሙ፡ ለመማክርተ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ከመ፡ ያይድዕዎ፡ ለንጉሥ።

፳፫ ወሰሚዖ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ አንከረ፡ ወአስተዓፀበ።

፳፬ ወአእኰታ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በፎኤ፡ ማርያም፡ በእንተ፡ ዘገብረት፡ ሎቱ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምረ፡ በመዋዕሊሁ።

158 ሊቃነ፡ P.

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፳ ወበጊዜሃ፡ ወጽአ፡ ቃለ፡ ዓዋዲ፡ እምጎበ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወእምጎበ፡ ጳጳስ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ እመቦ፡ እምቀሳውስት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ ወመነኰሳት፡ ወእመሂ፡ እምሕዝባውያን፡ ዘቦአ፡ ውስተ፡ ዓፀዳ፡ ለቅድስት፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ በውስተ፡ ኵለሄ፡ አህጉሪነ፡ ጎበ፡ አኰነነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እንዘ፡ ርሑስ፡ ውእቱ፡ በሕልመ፡ ሌሊት፡ ይኩን፡ ውጉዘ፡ በቃለ፡ አበዊነ፡ ሐዋርያት። (P. 274).

፳፩ ወእምቅድመ፡ አሜሃሰ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘነበረ፡ ዘይትዐቀብ፡ በዊአ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን። ወአልቦ፡ ዘየአምሮ፡ ለሕልመ፡ ሌሊት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ እምዮም፡ ሶበ፡ አስተርአየ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ በላዕለ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ብእሲ።

፳፪ ወእምድኅረ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ነገር፡ ሖሩ፡ ንጉሥኒ፡ ወጳጳስኒ፡ ኅቡረ፡ ውስተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እንተ፡ ተሐንፀት፡ በስማ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በፀኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ወሥዑ፡ መሥዋዕተ።

፳፫ ወወሀቡ፡ አምኃ፡ ብዙኅ፡ በእንተ፡ ዘገብረት፡ ሎሙ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምረ፡ በመዋዕሊሆሙ። ወአፈድፈዱ፡ መልእክታ።

፳፬ ትንብልናሃ፡ ለጽዮን፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፳፭ ስምዑኬ፡ አ፡ ማኅበረ፡ ወንጌል፡ በቃለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት፡ በከመ፡ ይቤ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ልሳነ፡ ዕፍረት፡ ወኵሉ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ፡ ለተግሣፀ፡ ዚአነ፡ ተጽሕፈ።

፳፮ ወይእዜኒ፡ እብለክሙ፡ አ፡ አበውየ፡ ወአኀውየ፡ ማኅበረ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቅድስት።

፳፯ ለዝንቱሰ፡ ብእሲ፡ እንበለ፡ አእምሮ፡ ሶበ፡ ረስሐ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ በሕልመ፡ ሌሊት፡ አግኃሦ፡ መልአከ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እስከ፡ ኮነ፡ ፫፡ በእመት።

፳፰ ወለዘሰ፡ ቦአ፡ በድፍረት፡ ሚመጠነ፡ ይረክቦ፡ መዓት፡ ወመቅሠፍት።

፳፱ ወፈድፋደሰ፡ ለካህናት፡ ወዲያቆናት፡ ወለመነኰሳት፡ እለ፡ ኮንዎ፡ ምዕመናነ፡ ወቅሩባነ፡ ለእግዚአ፡ መናፍስት። (P. 275).

፴ ወባሕቱሰ፡ አልቦ፡ ንጹሕ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ኃጢአት።

፴፩ ወመኑ፡ ጻድቅ፡ ዘይትወለድ፡ እምአንስት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ዛቲ፡ ድንግል፡ ንጽሕት፡ ወቡርክት፡ ወውድስት፡ በአፈ፡ ሰብእ፡ ወመላእክት።

፴፪ ወለክሙኒ፡ እለ፡ ተጋባእክሙ፡ ዝየ፡ ለሰሚዐ፡ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ቅድስት፡ ባላሂተ፡ ትኩንክሙ፡ እመሥገርተ፡ ሞት፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፫፡ ተአምር፤

በእንተ፡ ዐቃቤ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘአኃዞ፡ ትክቶ፤

፩ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በፀኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፪ ወሀለወት፡ አሐቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እንተ፡ ተሐንፀት፡ በስማ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም። ወብዙኅ፡ ተአምር፡ ወመንክር፡ ዘይትገበር፡ በውስቴታ።

፫ ወሃሎ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዐቃቤ፡ አንቀጸ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ መዓልተ፡ ወሌሊተ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ይጠቅዕ፡ መጥቅዐ፡ በኵሉ፡ ጊዜ፡ ወያርኁ፡ ጎዋጎዊሃ።

፬ ወአሐተ፡ ዕለተ፡ ረከቦ፡ ድቀተ፡ ሥጋ፡ ምስለ፡ አንስት፡ እምድኅረ፡ ድራር፡ በጊዜ፡ ምሴት።

፭ ወእምዝ፡ ሐዊሮ፡ ኖመ፡ በከመ፡ ልማዱ፡ ውስተ፡ አንቀጸ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ቅድስት። (P. 276).

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፮ ወሶበ፡ ኮነ፡ መንፈቀ፡ ሌሊት፡ ተንሥአ፡ በከመ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ዘልማድ። ወአብርሀ፡ ማኅቶተ። ወረስዓ፡ ለይእቲ፡ ኃጢአት፡ እንተ፡ ገብራ፡ ጊዜ፡ ምሴት። ወቦአ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ፀዊሮ፡ መራጒተ።

፯ ወእምቅድመ፡ ይሳለም፡ አዕማዲሃ፡ ወራግዛቲሃ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ይቤ፡ ለሊሁ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዐቃቤ፡ አንቀጽ፡ መጽአ፡ ኀቤየ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘየዐቅባ፡ ለቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወለከፈኒ፡ በጽንፈ፡ በትሩ፡ እንተ፡ ገቦየ።

፰ ወይቤለኒ፡ ፃእ፡ ፍጡነ፡ አንተ፡ ርሱሕ፡ እስመ፡ በእንተ፡ ኢያእምሮትከ፡ አእተትኩ፡ መዓትየ፡ እምላዕሌከ። ሶበሰ፡ ቦእከ፡ በድፍረትከ፡ እምሠጠቁከ፡ ለፀኔ፡ ክፍል። ወዘንተ፡ ይቤለኒ፡ መልአክ፡ ዘየዐቅባ፡ ለቤተ፡ እግዚአብሔር።

፱ ይቤ፡ ውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ዘከመ፡ ረከቦ፡ ወበጊዜ፡ ተምዐኒ፡ መልአክ፡ በጽሐ፡ ላዕሌየ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ደዌ፡ ወአኃዘኒ፡ ደመ፡ ትክቶ፡ አንስት።

፲ ወነበረ፡ ውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ እንዘ፡ የዐውድ፡ አህጉራተ፡ ወአዕፃዳተ፡ ወምሥያጣተ፡ ወይነግር፡ ለኵሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ ርእዩኪ፡ ዘከመ፡ ረሰየተኒ፡ እግዝእትየ፡ ማርያም፡ ሶበ፡ ቦእኩ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ዚአሃ፡ በርስሐት።

፲፩ ወነበረ፡ ውእቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ በዘከመዝ፡ ደዌ፡ እስከ፡ ዕለተ፡ ሞቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ኢይየብስ፡ ወኢይነጽፍ፡ ደመ፡ ትክቶ፡ አንስት፡ እምውስተ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወእንዘ፡ ኢየኀብር፡ ምስለ፡ ሰብእ፡ ኢበጸሎት፡ ወኢበመሥዋዕት፡ በመብልዕ፡ ወኢበመስቴ። (P. 277).

፲፪ ወዝንቱ፡ ኮሉ፡ ምናኔ፡ ወኃሣር፡ ወተሰዶ፡ እማእከለ፡ ጕባኤ፡ መሀይምናን፡ ዘረከቦ፡ በዝ፡ ዓለም፡ ለዝንቱ፡ ረሲዕ፡ ዘረስዓ፡ ኃጢአቱ[159]። ሚመጠነ፡ ይረክቦ፡ ምንዳቤ፡ ወመቅሠፍት፡ ለዘቦአ፡ በድፍረት፡ ወበትዕቢት፡ ውስተ፡ ዛቲ፡ እምነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እስመ፡ አባሉ፡ ይእቲ፡ ለዘተሰብአ፡ እምቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በፀኔ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን።

፲፫ ትንብልናሃ፡ ለእግእዝትነ፡ ማርያም፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፯፡ ተአምር፤

በእንተ፡ ፩ዱ፡ መኰንን፡ ዘሖረ፡ ውስተ፡ ጸብአ፡ ዕልዋን፤

፩ ተአምሪሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በፀኔ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፪ ወሀሎ፡ ፩ዱ፡ መኰንን፡ መልአከ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ለንጉሥ። ወሖረ፡ ውስተ፡ ፀብዐ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ሥምረተ፡ ሕሊናሁ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ወኅየልዎ፡ እሉ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ለዝኩ፡ መኰንን።

፫ ወሀለወት፡ ምስለ፡ ውእቱ፡ መኰንን፡ ታቦተ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ እስመ፡ ሥርዓት፡ ሎቱ፡ እምአበዊሁ፡ ሶበ፡ ጊዜ፡ ሖረ፡ ውስተ፡ ፀብዕ፡ ኢየኀድግ፡ ታቦተ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም።

፬ ወካህናትኒ፡ ሥሩዓን፡ ሎቱ፡ ምስለ፡ ይእቲ፡ ታቦት፡ እለ፡ ይተልውዎ፡ ለውእቱ፡ መኰንን። (P. 278).

፭ ወአሜሃሰ፡ ዕለት፡ ሶበ፡ ሖረ፡ ውስተ፡ ፀብዕ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ፈቃዱ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ በትዕይርተ፡ ልቡ። አውገቦ፡ ዕለት፡ እኪት፡ ሞዕዎ፡ እሉ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ለውእቱ፡ መኰንን፡ ምስለ፡ ሠራዊቱ፡ ወለታቦትኒ፡ ፄወውዎ፡ አረሚ።

159 ለ' P.

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፮ ወሶበ፡ ርእያ፡ ፩ዱ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ ለእሉ፡ ዕልዋን፡ ዘአኀዘ፡ መሥገርተ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ለይእቲ፡ ታቦተ፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ ይቤሎሙ፡ ለአብያጺሁ፡ እኩያን፡ ርእይዋ፡ ለዛቲ፡ ሰሌዳ፡ መምለኪሆሙ፡ ለክርስቲያን።

፯ ወዘንተ፡ ብሂሎ፡ ተንሥአ፡ በመዓተ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ወነበረ፡ መልዕልቴሃ፡ ለታቦት፡ ውእቱ፡ ዕልው።

፰ ወበጊዜሃ፡ ሰጠቀቶ፡ ወሥፀረቶ፡ ለክልኤ፡ ክፍል፡ ወኮነ፡ ኮለንታሁ፡ ከመ፡ ዘአብሰልዎ፡ ሥጋ፡ ውስተ፡ መቅጹተ፡ ብርት፡ ርሱን።

፱ ወሶበ፡ ርእዩ፡ እሉ፡ አረሚ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምራቲሃ፡ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፡ ቦ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ እለ፡ አመኑ፡ ወቦ፡ እምኔሆሙ፡ እለ፡ ጐዩ፡ ኢይነጽርዋ፡ ለይእቲ፡ ታቦት።

፲ ወእምድኅረ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ነገር፡ ሜጥዋ፡ ለታቦተ፡ ማርያም፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገራ፡ በክብር፡ ወበስብሐት።

፲፩ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ ለጽዮን፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።

፭፡ ተአምር፤

፩ ታምሪሃ (sic)፡ ለጽዮን፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ኮልነ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (P. 279)

፪ ወሀሎ፡ አሐዱ፡ ዲያቆን፡ ዘይትመሐፀን፡ ወዘይትቀነይ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ እንዘ፡ የሐውር፡ በበወርኁ። ወበአሐዱ፡ እመዋዕል፡ ውእቱ፡ ዲያቆን፡ በፀብአ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ሐመ፡ በእኩይ፡ ሕማም። አእዳዊሁ፡ ወአእጋሪሁ፡ ወክሳዱ፡ ተሰብሩ። ወኮሉ፡ ህዋሳቲሁ፡ ተሴለዩ። ወሥእነ፡ አንሳስሆ (sic)።

፫ ወእንዘ፡ ይፅዕር፡ መጽአት፡ ኀበ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዲያቆን፡ ጽዮን፡ እግዝእትነ፡ ማርያም፡ ምስለ፡ ወልዳ፡ መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም፡ እንዘ፡ ታተሉ፡ መላእክተ፡ ወቅዱሳነ። ወበእደዊሃ፡ ክቡራት፡ ቀብአቶ፡ በቅብዕ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ ዘመዓዛሁ፡ ጥዑም። ወትቤሎ፡ በስእለትየ፡ ወበምሕረተ፡ ፍቁር፡ ወልድየ፡ ትድኅን።

፬ ወፍቁር፡ ወልዳ፡ ⌜መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም[160]፡ ገሠሠ፡ ሕዋሳቲሁ፡ በሰሊክ፡ ዘያስተፈሥሕ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዘተገብረ፡ ለከ፡ በምክንያተ፡ እምየ፡ ውእቱ፡ እስመ፡ አልቦ፡ ድኅነት[161]፡ ዘእንበለ፡ እግዝእትነ። ወነገሮ፡ ካዕበ፡ ዘየዐቢ[162]፡ ምስጢረ።

፭ ወጽዮንሂ፡ እግዝእትነ[163]፡ ነገረቶ፡ ብዘኀ (sic)፡ ምስጢረ። ወተሠወረት፡ እምኔሁ። ወውእቱ፡ ዲያቆን፡ ኮነ፡ ሕያወ፡ ከመ፡ ዘኢሐመ፡ ምንተ፡ እስመ፡ አድኅነቶ፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም።

፮ ወውእቱ፡ ዲያቅን (sic)፡ ሐዲኅ፡ ንብረተ፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዓለም፡ መነነ፡ ወሐረየ፡ ተቀንዮ፡ ለቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ዘእግዝእትነ።

፯ ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡ የሃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ዘሰማዕነ፡ ዘንተ፡ ተአምረ፡ ጽዮን፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (P. 280)

160 መድኃኔዓለም፡ P.

161 ድህ' P.

162 'አ' P.

163 እግዝትነ፡ P.

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3.1.2 Translation

Miracles of Mary Zion

First Miracle

1. Miracle of Zion our Celestial Mother. May Her prayer and blessings be with Christian people, forever and ever, Amen.

2. About idol worship: All you Christian people, listen so that we tell you. All scripture was written for our instruction.[164] There was a certain man amongst the sons of Adam, named Seroh.[165] And a son named Bənu[166] was born to Seroh, [and] idol worship began. And a devilish evil tree[167] grew up from his tomb, which causes violation of fasting. Behold an enemy has sown [this] by bringing it from where it was found (Mtt. 13:28).

3. And the name of Bənu has been called Bunä.[168] There were good trees and bad trees which were created on Tuesday, as the Gospel of Matthew says 'A good tree bears good fruit and a bad tree bears a bad fruit' (Mtt. 7:12).[169]

4. Therefore, it became the sacrifice of the children of the Ishmaelites, reaching (even) until their prophet Mohammed [who is] master of the Moslems. As for the Moslems, they have no other sacrifice except it. Until now, it has deceived men and made them violate fasts and festivals, saying 'We have headache'. The *Zar*[170] Satan which dwells over them leads them astray. And the Holy Communion would be ruined and the time of Liturgy would pass into the morrow while they were drinking.

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164 Cf. Rm. 15:4.

165 He is named 'Serug' in the Hebrew Bible, *Serouch* in the LXX. He is the son of Re'u (cf. Gen. 11:20).

166 According to the description of Genesis, the son of Serug (Seroh) is Nahor (cf. Gen. 11:22).

167 The text fails to observe verb-noun/adjective agreement: **ወጎበ፡ መቃብሩሂ፡ በቆለት፡ ዕፅ፡ እኩይ፡ ሰይጣናዊት።** The underlined adjective disagrees with the preceding verb (**በቆለት፡**) and the succeeding adjective (**ሰይጣናዊት፡**). It should be **እኪት፡**.

168 Here an Amharic etymology of the word **ቡና፡** 'coffee' is given. On the other hand, the English name coffee is supposed to be derived from Käfa, a region in southwestern Ethiopia. Mekete (2003: 763–764) discusses various arguments on the origins of coffee. There are four coffee species and all originated in Africa, he remarks. These are: *Coffea arabica* (believed to have originated in the south-western forests of Ethiopia), *Coffea robusta* (believed to have originated in Uganda), *Coffea liberica* (believed to have originated in Liberia) and *Coffea esliaca* (believed to have originated in Southern Sudan). The coffee bush is supposed to be indigenous to Ethiopia; historians testify that the coffee plant was first discovered growing wild in the Käfa region. It also grows wild in southern Arabia. Culturally, coffee plays an important role in Ethiopian society. Rita Pankhurst (2003: 764–765) gives a detailed presentation on the subject.

169 But the verse is from Mtt. 7:17.

170 *Zar* is a pagan devilish spirit.

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5. There is testimony to it the commentary to the Proverbs of Solomon saying, 'An evil man with, insolence will do evil' (Prov. 13:10).[171] Having abandoned insolence, if we abandoned drinking how would it diminish us? And if we drink what shall it benefit us? The commentary[172] of the Gospel of Luke says, 'John will be filled with the [Holy] Spirit and he shall drink no strong drink' (Lk. 1:13).[173] As for us, we receive the grace of the Holy Spirit on the fortieth day;[174] then why should our flesh be the dwelling of the Satan *Zar*?

6. May the prayer and blessings of our Mother the Celestial Zion be with all Christian people forever and ever, Amen.

Second Miracle

1. The miracle of Saint Zion our Mother the Celestial. Let Her prayer and blessings be with all of us Christian people, forever and ever, Amen. **(P. 265.)**

2. Listen again so that we tell you a thing that shall strengthen the intellect make certain the understang. [There was] A certain man named Mohammed, master of the Moslems. Out of his great denial, he lived together with demons. One day while he was worshiping he was seized with a severe headache, which he had had ever since his childhood. While he was suffering from this headache, one day the devil came to him in order to lead him astray by trickery. And he said to him 'My beloved Mohammed, what happened to you?' However, the pain that was upon him was [really] the devil himself.

3. Mohammed replied to him, 'I have a headache and am suffering due to this pain'. Then the devil said to Mohammed, 'If I tell you the medicine for your head[ache], will you carry out the desire of my heart?' Mohammed said to him, 'Yes, I will obey. If you heal me then I will do everything you have told me'.

4. Then the devil brought forth to him three plants, which were the plant of *Get*,[175] the plant of *Kusra*[176] and the plant of *Sätṛaṭis*.[177] He gave them to Mohammed and said, 'Take this medicine—the plant of *Kusra* which is *Bun*.

171 Actually Prov. 13:11. This does not correspond to the Hebrew Bible.

172 This is not a commentary on Luke. It is Luke itself.

173 Actually Lk. 1:15.

174 Boys are baptized when they are 40 days old.

175 This is the Amharic ጫት፡ *č̣at* (Arabic *qāt, ġāt*, Oromo *jimaa*, Latin *catha edulis*). It is a flowering evergreen shrub native to East Africa and Southern Arabia, more specifically to Yemen, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Madagascar, and Tanzania. For a brief note on *č̣at*, cf. Ezekiel 2003: 697–698.

176 This is ቡና፡ *bunna*, 'coffee'.

177 It is the Amharic ትንባሆ፡ *tənbaho* 'Tobacco'. It seems to have been little known in Ethiopia prior to the 19th century (cf. Pankhurst 2010: 967–968).

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If you drink of it, you will recover quickly from your headache. And it will be a sacrifice in Mecca [and] Medina from generation to generation'. And he showed him all abominable deeds.

5. And Mohammed roasted this *kusra*—plant, that is to say, 'abominable'.[178] He then heated copper of iron and the devil said to him, 'Do [it] in the likeness of my image'. Then Mohammed roasted and made it like black charcoal. Again the devil said to him, 'Unless you do [it] in the likeness of my image, then the sacrifice won't be favored'. He did everything he said to him and Mohammed drank from it. He recovered from the pain of his headache for a short time. After waiting (a while), his headache reappeared periodically.

6. O Celestial Zion our Mother, let your prayer and blessings be with us all the children of baptism forever and ever, Amen.

Third[179] Miracle

1. The miracle of Saint Zion our Saintly Mother the Celestial. Let Her prayer and blessings be with all of us children of baptism, forever and ever, Amen.

2. When Mohammed was sacrificing the *kusra* plant and worshiping, the devil came to him at that time, because of the great love for the book called *Fərqan*,[180] where in chapter 28th is found 'As for writing, write it; but bracket it, so they will not recite it'.[181] Then the devil said to Mohammed 'Teach it to your Moslem colleagues, so that they will not recite what is written'. **(P. 266.)**

3. Then the Moslems, having established and written this command, then put brackets around it in order that [others] should not recite it. He who does recite and interpret this command, thus transgressing it, may he be cursed, may his roots torn out, may his bones will be broken, may his flesh swell up, may his tongue be cutoff, and may his eye go blind.

4. The devil said to Mohammed, 'In saying this, you pronounce an anathema'. Then Mohammed anathematized his Moslem relatives. The bracketed writing means: '*Šəwzin näfahnä wärämha lati ahsänät inabäha*'.[182] This means,

178 The Gəʿəz word **ርኩስ** 'abominable' has the same consonants as **ኩስራ**, but in a different order.

179 The text says 'second miracle'.

180 Arabic *Furqān*, i.e. the Qur'ān.

181 I do not know where such a verse actually appears in the Qur'ān, if at all. It does not seem to appear in Sura 28 (Al-Qiṣaṣ).

182 Although very distorted, this Qur'anic verse and the one which follows are taken from Sūrat al-Taḥrīm (Excommunication), Sur. 66:12. The transliteration (of the Arabic text) and its equivalent English translation are as: *Wa-maryama bnata ʿImrāna llatī ʾaḥṣanat farǧahā fa-nafaḫnā fihi min rūhinā wa-ṣaddaqat bi-kalimāti rabbihā wa-kutubihi wa-kānat*

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'Mary,[183] the one who was firm in (Her) virginity'. One among the *Allahoč*[184] will descend and will be born [from Her]. *Wä-sädäqät bä-kälimati räbiha bähat näbi*. This is to mean 'He was born without Her knowing a man'.

5. *Allah* means 'God'; *Allahoč* [lit. 'gods'] means 'Trinity': three persons from the beginning. However the Moslems say in *Fərqan*[185] which is their *Inǰīl*[186] 'One person among the three persons descended from heaven and was born of the Virgin'. Saying it ‡…‡, they bracketed it in order not to present a challenge to the law of the devil and not to transgress the anathema of Mohammed. [Instead they] say that, 'God did not descend and was not born', and (this) they also teach to other (people).

6. As for the three plants: the plant of *Get*, the plant of *Kusra* and the plant of *Säṭraṭis*, although their name and appearance are different, their effect is the same. They are sacrifices and offerings to Mohammed in Mecca [and] Medina. Every thing that was done in the land of Egypt.[187]

7. We will tell you the reason for the coming of *Abol*[,] *Tona* [and] *Bäräka*[188] to the land of Ethiopia. Those who were instructed by the relatives of Mohammed brought these three plants which they used[189] in sacrificing. And swearing an oath to each other, they came to the land of Ethiopia to lead the people astray

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min al-ǧānitīna. Here is an English translation of the Qur'ān: 'Mary, the daughter of Imran, who guarded her chastity, and into whose (womb) We breathed of Our Spirit, who testified to the words of her Lord, and His Scriptures, and was one of the obedient' (Sur. 66:12; quoted from MidEastweb, cf. [http://www.mideastweb.org] 24/07/2010).

183 Instead of the usual **ማርያም፡** the Gə'əz text has **መሪማ፡**.

184 According to the Amharic translation of the text *Allahoč* means Trinity.

185 I.e. Qur'ān.

186 I.e. Gospel.

187 Rita Pankhurst (2003: 764–765) remarks how *č̣at* and coffee were used in Ethiopia: 'Because of its stimulant properties, coffee, often in association with *č̣at*, was used by Muslim mystics as early as the 15th century. It plays an important role in traditional Oromo rites and spirit possession rituals and is taken in some Ethiopian monasteries to stave off sleep during prayers. However, in *Šäwa* in the early 19th century, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church opposed coffee drinking by the laity, on the grounds that it was a Muslim or 'pagan' custom'.

188 These three Amharic terms refer to the three successive brewing of coffee from the same coffee-grounds. Probably their etymology is from the Arabic *awwal* 'first', *iṯnayn* 'second' and *baraka* 'blessing'. Rita Pankhurst (2003: 765) says on the third step of coffee that 'The meaning of the latter [*baraka*] 'blessing', suggests that the ceremony had a religious element'. She also assumes that the derivation of the three brewings and the method of preparation in *ǧäbäna* 'pot' signifies that the procedure was borrowed from Arabia.

189 The Gə'əz text says **ነበሩ፡**, which, means 'sat' or 'were'; I have translated according to the context.

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and to change their faith. And five Moslems came with them from Egypt to the land of Ethiopia for trade with the three plants: the plant of *Get* which is *Č̣at*, the plant of *Kusra* which is Bun, [and] the plant of *Säṭraṭis* which is tobacco. These are offerings of the Amorites[190] and Mohammedans.

8. As for the Christians, it is not fitting for them to eat and drink of these plants. Those who eat and drink of them, their punishment will be like those who have not been baptized, and their habitation will be in Gehenna.[191] The Book says that 'Adam, the first creature of the Lord, was created in His image[192] before all creatures;[193] he went astray by eating the plant and was expelled from Paradise'. Therefore, I say to you my brothers, do not be led astray through these plants. If you are preparing to eat and drink them, do not enter a church and do not [partake] of the Holy Communion in order not to contaminate the house of the Lord.

9. O Holy Zion the Celestial, safeguard all of us Christians forever and ever, Amen. **(P. 267.)**

Fourth Miracle

About the miracle performed upon the Ark of Zion

1. The miracle of our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary Zion, the Mother of God. Let Her prayer and blessings be with us forever and ever, Amen.

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190 The Amorites were an ancient tribe of Canaanites who inhabited the country northeast of the Jordan River as far as Mount Hermon. In the 13th cent. BC, they defeated Moabites, crossed the Jordan, conquered the Hittites and overran Canaan to the sea. Their power was very strong at the beginning but later weakened by the Hebrews at the time of Joshua (cf. Jos. 9–10). They are mentioned as the ancestor of the Hebrews 'Thus says the Lord God to Jerusalem: Your origin and your birth are of the land of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite, and your mother a Hittite' (cf. Ezek. 16:3). It is also mentioned that they were idol worshipers and did not obey the Lord. As a result Sihon, the Amorite king, was killed (Ps. 136:19).

191 Initially, Gehenna (Gk. *géenna* lit. 'The valley of Hinnom') was the name of the valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem (Jos. 15:8, 18:16). Because some of the Israelites were supposed to have sacrificed their children to Moloch there, the valley came to be regarded as a place of abomination (cf. 2 Kings 16:3, 21:6, 23:10–12). In a later period, it was made a refuse dump and perpetual fifes were maintained there to prevent pestilence. Thus, in the New Testament, Gehenna became synonymous with hell. It used for the final place of torment for the wicked after the Last Judgment (Mtt. 5:29, 10:28, 18:9, Jos 3:6). (Cf. Cross 2005: 1107.)

192 Gen. 1:26.

193 Adam was not the 'first creature', according to Genesis (1:25–26); he was created after animals. The author probably means 'the first human creature' as is common in Ethiopian tradition.

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2. This miracle that our Lady Mary Zion did was performed during the reign of a certain king, who loved Her and Her Son Jesus Christ.

3. There was in his royal palace an Ark which was prepared in the name of Our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary Zion. They placed Her inside a chest before Her consecration.

4. They found Her withdrawn from the chest, with the lock of the seal of the chest unopened, sitting on purple silk.

5. Seeing this, the guards of the king's treasury were very dismayed. They went in haste and told the king all that had happened concerning this Ark.

6. The king said to them, 'Bring and show me Her, the Ark about whose greatness you have told me'. And they brought Her.

7. When he saw the magnificence of the Ark, he marveled and rejoiced. And he sent Her quickly to the bishop together with the high priests, priests and many deacons, in order to consecrate Her. **(P. 268.)**

8. Then this Ark was consecrated by the hand of the honorable father, the Ethiopian archbishop.

9. And they broght Her in with honor, praise and much singing.

10. They told the king that the Ark was approaching. Then, he went out to welcome the Ark with much exaltation, blowing of horns, flute, bell, and with the sound of fiddle and harp and the beating of drums.

11. He adorned a dwelling for Her. He pitched a black tent raven—colored, and brought Her in for Her to dwell there.

12. On the morrow, this black tent was found white like snow.

13. Then they told the King this miracle of our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary Zion, Mother of God.

14. And he gave many offerings which were needed for the church ritual.

15. Subsequently, he assigned for Her many servants to blow the horns.

16. Moreover, he dressed for Her priests and deacons to serve in turn night and day.

17. After the king who loved Her had finished doing all this for Her, then the servants began blowing the horns, and the priests began singing praises disrespectifully and arrogantly, with idle talk and much laughter, as they were accustomed to do in other churches. **(P. 269.)**

18. And immediately our Lady Mary Zion grew angry at them.

19. There were among them some whose throats were blocked, there were some whose heads ached and there were some who were sick in their belly.

20. Everyone was suffering from his own sickness.

21. Then she appeared to the king and said to him: 'Let these boastful and conceited ones not approach me, for their singing and glorification I do not

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like. As my father David says 'May my head never be anointed (with) the oil of the sinner' '.[194]

22. After hearing this matter from the mouth of our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary, he ordered that none of them should enter the enclosure of that place except for pure priests at the time of the offering of the sacrifice.

23. He brought this Ark of Zion near to him. When sorrow and grief came upon him, he would pray to Her and receive according to what he thought and desired.

24. Then he named her *'Baḥtawit Ṣəyon Maryam'*.[195]

25. This Ark is found in the king's palace to this day.

26. And the kings too, augment magnificence and honor to Her, each in his own period.

27. No one having the stain of sin and a tarnished mind may enter and approach Her until today. **(P. 270.)**

28. As for those approach boldly and shamelessly before men, they will fall into severe sickness, until they say 'Woe to us, woe to us'.

29. And they will say 'This punishment has befallen us due to our boldness, although we knew and were perfectly aware that we will be destroyed because of the fear of man'.[196]

30. Listen now, O! Community of the Holy Church.

31. Do not get into the habit of entering a church without purity and confession, for there are watchful and pure Angels who are guarding it continually.

32. They will take vengeance on Her behalf against anyone who approaches Her with the pollution of sin; for He gave Her a covenant, Her heavenly bridegroom saying, 'If there is anyone who is defiled and who is not pure, let him withdraw'.

33. It is not due to defilement of the bed alone that He commanded withdrawal from the church, but also slanderers and murderers.

34. And anyone who has rancor and vengeance in his heart shall not enter, for this is a great sin.

35. As for those of you who are present here to hear the miracle of our Lady, Mother of your Lord, Mary, men and women, adults and children, according to your names,[197] let the Lord put the fear of Him into your flesh.

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194 Ps. 141:5. That is not what Hebrew of Ps. 141:5 says: 'Let the righteous strike me in kindness, and let him reboke me; it shall be as oil for my head, let not my head refuse it'. But the Gəʿəz and the Septuagint are different from the Hebrew.

195 Lit. 'Zion Mary the hermit'.

196 This is a faithful translation, but the sense is obscure; the text may be corrupt.

197 I.e., one by one.

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36. And let Him be with you by day let Him be amongst you at night. **(P. 271.)**

37. And for His Flesh and His Blood, and for the sake of His Mother Mary, let Him forgive you your trespasses and your sins forever and ever, Amen.

Fifth Miracle

About the wonder, performed during the time of a certain king

1. The miracle of our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary Zion, Mother of God. Let Her intercession and beseeching be with us forever and ever, Amen.

2. Now listen to the wonder and marvel of the great miracle of our Lady Mary, which was performed during the time of a certain king, who was beloved of Her and beloved of Her Son our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

3. This king, out of his great love for Her, built a church for Her in the name of the Blessed, Pure, Mary Zion, the Mother of God. He adorned Her with gold, silver and with precious clothes of purple.

4. Moreover, he appointed for Her many priests and deacons, serving in Her night and day in reciting the Psalms of David, the Cantilation of Yared and the Horologium of the blessed George.

5. Due to the great number of church vessels that the king gave to the Ark of Zion Mary, no one could enter this church without the consent of the king and the children of the church. **(P. 272.)**

6. Her priests did not separate during the night and day time, watching Her in their own turn.

7. One day when the priests were guarding, they fell asleep during the long inside the church compound; and one of them dreamed a dream of the night and poured out in his bed the seed of the body.

8. And when the one who had dreamed[198] was asleep amongst his companions, an angel of the Lord abducted that man from the church without himself or his companions realizing it, took him out, without awakening him from his sleep, that man who had dreamed, and laid him down sleep to after taking him outside the church compound.

9. He removed him far away from the compound to at a distance of eighty cubits. He spent the night there until the dawn without moving from his sleep.

10. When the man awoke in the morning, he looked and down. But he did not realize what had happened to him or who had taken him out to that place.

11. Also those who slept with him disparaged (him) one to another and said 'Where did he go during the long night without our knowing, abandoning the guarding of the Ark of the king?'

198 'dreamed a wet dream'.

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12. And the man, having awakened from his bed, called his companions. He said to them, 'Look where I spent the night! And I do not know took me out from inside the compoundand who separated me from you'. **(P. 273.)**

13. And his companions replied and said to him, 'What bad thing happened to you in your bed?'

14. Then he replied to them, 'I dreamed in my sleep. During the time I was dreaming, I was not aware (of it). When I woke up from my sleep where the one who separated me from you had laid me down, it was then that I found the sign of the dream[199] on my organ'.

15. When they heard this speech of that man, they seized him and took him to the high priest.

16. The high priest questioned that man and he told him all what happened.

17. Then the high priest took him and had him stand before the tribunal of the king. And he reported to the advisors of the king so that they might tell it to the king.

18. When the king heard that matter, he marveled and was amazed.

19. He glorified our Lady, the twofold Virgin Saint, Mary, for having performed for him that miracle in his time.

20. And immediately the word of a herald went forth from the king and the bishop saying, 'If there is anyone, whether of the priests, deacons, monks or of the laity, who shall enter the precinicts of the holy church(es) of all our territories country that the Lord gave us to rule, and has a wet dream in the night, let him be excommunicated according to the word of our fathers the Apostles'. **(P. 274.)**

21. Before that time, no one took any (special) care when entering a church. And it is only since the day on which the miracle of our Lady Zion Mary was revealed concering this man that anyone has made any reform to [the sin of] a dream of night.

22. After this thing, the king and the bishop went together to this church, which was built in the name of Our Lady, the twofold Virgin Saint Mary, Mother of God, and they offered a sacrifice.

23. They offered many gifts for having performed for them that miracle, in their time, and they increased serving Her.

24. Let the intercession of Zion be with us forever and ever, Amen.

25. O the community of the Gospel, listen now to the word of the Orthodox Faith, as the sweet -tongued St. Paul says 'Whatever was written [in former days] was written for our instruction'.[200]

199 I.e., semen.

200 Rm. 15:4.

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26. And now, O my fathers and brothers the community of the holy Church, I tell you.

27. Because this man, even though unknowingly, polluted his flesh in a dream of the night, the Angel of the Lord removed him as far as eighty cubits.

28. How great will be the rage and punishment that one will receive if he enters boldly.

29. And particularly priests, deacons and monks, for they are faithful and nearer to the Lord of the Spirits.[201] **(P. 275.)**

30. But there is no one so pure that he is without sin.

31. Who is righteous among those born of woman, except this Virgin, Pure, Blessed and praised by the mouths of men and angels?

32. As for you who have gathered here to hear the miracle of our Lady Saint Mary, let Her be to you a savior from the trap of death forever and ever, Amen.

Sixth Miracle
About the guardian of the Church, who had menses

1. The miracle of our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary, the Mother of God. Let Her prayer and blessings be with us forever and ever, Amen.

2. There was a church built in the name of our Lady Zion Mary, and many were the miracles and wonders that were performed in it.

3. There was a man guarding the gate of the church day and night. Always he was ringing a bell and was opening its doors.

4. One day, he had an event of the flesh[202] with a woman after dinner in the evenning.

5. Then he went and fell asleep inside the gate of the holy church as was his custom. **(P. 276.)**

6. And when it was midnight he got up, according to the customary rule, and put on the lamp. But he forgot the sin that he had done in the evening. He entered the church carrying the keys.

7. Before he kissed[203] the columns and doorposts of the church, the guardian of the gate himself said, 'An Angel who was guarding the house of the Lord came to me and touched me with the tip of his staff on my side'.

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201 'Lord of the Spirits' is a common expression for God in the *Book of Enoch* (cf. Hk. 38:2, edition by Knibb 1978).

202 Presumably a euphemism for sex.

203 According to Dillmann (1864: 322) and Leslau (1987: 499) ተሳለመ፡ means 'greet each other'. However, in this context, we interpreate it as 'kissing (i.e. greeting) the church'.

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8. 'And he said to me, 'You defiled one! Get out quickly, it is (only) due to your ignorance that I have withdrawn my anger from you. But if you had entered boldly, I would have split you in two parts'. This is what the Angel that guards the church of the Lord said to me'.

9. This man told how it happened to him: 'This sickness befell me, and the menses of women came upon me, at the time that the Angel was angry with me'.

10. That man went wandering over cities, the courtyards and marketplaces, speaking to all the people saying, 'So then, see what my Lady Mary did to me, when I entered Her church in defilement'.

11. That man lived with this disease until the day of his death; the menses of women did not dry up and stop flowing from his flesh, and he did not associate with people, neither in prayer nor in sacrifice, food nor drink. **(P. 277.)**

12. And all this rejection, disgrace and ostracism from amidst the congregation of the faithful which befell him in this world was because of his forgetting his sin. How much more torment and affliction would befall a man who, with boldness and pride enters into this holy church, our Mother, for She is an [integral] part of the One who was Incarnated from the Holy twofold Virgin Zion Mary.

13. Let the intercession of our Lady Mary be with us, forever and ever, Amen.

Seventh Miracle

About a nobleman who went to war against rebels[204]

1. The miracle of our Lady, Saint, the twofold Virgin Mary, the Mother of God. Let Her prayer and blessings be with us forever and ever, Amen.

2. There was a nobleman who was serving as a commander of the royal army.[205] And he went to war against rebels without the king's consent, and these rebels defeated this nobleman.

3. The Ark of our Lady Zion Mary was with this nobleman, as it was a tradition with him since his fathers that he never left behind the Ark of our Lady Mary when he to war.

4. And priests were appointed for him together with this Ark, and they followed this nobleman. **(P. 278.)**

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204 The Gəʿəz **ዕልዋን፡** has the connotation of both 'rebels' and 'heretics', i.e. religious rebels.

205 Dillmann (1864: 48–49) gives further meanings for **መልአከ፡** in **መልአከ፡ ጎይሉ፡** *satrápēs* 'satrap', *éparchos* 'prefect', *anthýpatos* 'governor', *hegemōn* 'counselor', which are attested in Judith 5:2 and Daniel (in Aramaic) 3:2. However, in this text we only maintain 'commander of the royal army'.

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5. On that very day when he went to war without the king's permission in the arrogance of his heart, an evil day came upon him [and] these rebels defeated the nobleman together with his army. As for the Ark, the heathens captured it.

6. And when one of these rebels, whom Satan had taken in his trap, saw this Ark of our Lady Zion Mary, he said to his wicked companions: 'Look at this tablet of the cult of the Christians'.

7. Saying this he stood up with diabolic anger. And this rebel sat down upon the Ark.

8. And immediately, she cleaved him and split him in two parts; and all of him became like cooked meat in a red-hot bronze caldron.

9. When these heathens saw this miracle of our Lady Zion Mary, there were some among them who believed and some among them who fled so as not to look upon that Ark.

10. After this thing, they surrendered the Ark of Mary to Her country with honor and praise.

11. Let the prayer and blessings of Zion be with us forever and ever, Amen.

Eighth Miracle

1. The miracle of Zion, our Lady Mary. Let Her prayer and blessings be with us all forever and ever, Amen. **(P. 279.)**

2. There was a deacon who was charged with serving the church of our Lady Mary Zion, going (there) every month. One day, this deacon was attacked by Satan and fell sick with an evil sickness. His hands, feet and neck were broken. All parts of his body were disjointed and he was unable to move.[206]

3. While he was suffering, our Lady Mary came to that deacon with Her Son, Savior of the World, the angels and saints following Her. And with Her honorable hands She anointed him with heavenly oil whose aroma is sweet. And She said to him, 'You shall be saved by my entreaty and by the mercy of My beloved Son'.

4. Then Her Beloved Son, Savior of the World, touched the parts of his body with balsam which gladdens. And He said to him, 'This which was done for you is because of My Mother, for there is no salvation except our Lady'. And furthermore besides he told him a great mystery.

5. And as for our Lady Zion, She told him many mysteries. Then She disappeared from him. And this deacon became healed as if he had never fallen sick with anything, for Zion Mary saved him.

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206 The Gəʿəz text has **አንሳስሦ፡** ; which is a corruption; it apparently represents **አንሳሕስሖ፡** 'the act of moving', but also resembles **አንሶሰወ፡** 'to move, walk' (cf. Leslau 1987: 494, 517).

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6. And this deacon, abandoning the life of this world, renounced (it) and chose to serve the church of our Lady.

7. Let Her prayer and blessings be with those of us who heard this miracles of Zion forever and ever, Amen. **(P. 280.)**

3.2 Mälkəʾa Ṣəyon *'Effigy of Zion'*

I have made very small conjectural changes to the printed text of the 'Effigy' as found in [P].

3.2.1 Text

መልክአ፡ ጽዮን[207]**፡**

መልክአ፡ ጽዮን፡ ቅድስተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፤

፩ ሰላም፡ ለዝክረ፡ ስምኪ፡ እንተ፡ ይጼዋዕ፡ በወትር፤
በአፈ፡ መላእክት፡ ወሰብእ፡ በኂዜ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወክብር፤
ጽዮን፡ እምነ፡ ንግሥተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወምድር፤
እለ፡ ይክህዱ፡ ድንግልናኪ፡ ውሉደ፡ ኵነኔ[208]**፡ ወፃዕር፤**
ይጥፍኡ፡ ወይማስኑ፡ እምኵሉ[209]**፡ ሀገር።**

፪ ሰላም፡ ለስዕርተ፡ ርእስኪ፡ በዕንቁ፡ ሰንፔር፡ ሰማያዊ፤
ዘተሰርገወ፡ ናሁ፡ በቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ዘሌዊ፤
መድኃኒተ፡ ዓለም፡ ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ሰማያዊ፤
አድንጎኒ (sic)**፡ በእንተ፡ ስምኪ፡ እምነ፡ ሕማም፡ ግብታዊ፤**
ዘአልብየ፡ ጥዒና፡ እስመ፡ አንሰ፡ እደዊ።

፫ ሰላም፡ ለርዕስኪ፡ ክሉለ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወመብረቅ፤
ወክሉለ፡ ኮከብ፡ ወወርኀ፡ ዘያንፀባርቅ፡ እምርኁቅ[210]**፤**
እመ፡ መለኮት፡ ጽዮን፡ ባላሂት፡ ⌜እምነ፡ ፃዕቅ[211]**፤**
ለእለ[212]**፡ ንሴፎ፡ ት[ን]ብልናኪ፡ ወእለ፡ ነአምን፡ አሚነ፡ ጽድቅ፤**
እምዓለመ[213]**፡ ሥጋ፡ ሰውርኒ፡ ወእም፡ ፍቅረ፡ ብሩር፡ ወወርቅ።**

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207 Cf. pp. 281–286 of the printed text.

208 **ኩ**' P.

209 **እም፡ ኵሉ፡** P.

210 **'ሁቅ፡** P.

211 **እምነፃዕቅ፡** P.

212 **ለዕለ፡** P.

213 **እም፡ ዓለመ፡** P.

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፬ ሰላም፡ ለገጽኪ[214]፡ ከመ፡ ነበልባላዊ፡ እሳት፤
ለእለ፡ ይክህዱ፡ ስመኪ፡ ዘይሰመይ፡ ኪዳነ፡ ምሕረት፤
ትንቢተ፡ ነቢያት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወእንተ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ስብከት፤
ተስፋሆሙ፡ ለሕዝበ፡ ተዋሕዶ፡ ወተስፋ፡ ኮሉ፡ ፍጥረት፤
ወናዛዚተ፡ ሐዘን፡ አንቲ፡ ዘፀውአኪ፡ በጸሎት።

፭ ሰላም፡ ለቀራንብትኪ፡ እምላዕለ[215]፡ አዕይንት[216]፡ ፪ቱ፤
ወፅጉባነ፡ መንፈስ፡ እሙንቱ፤
ስንቀ[217]፡ ርሁባን፡ ጽዮን፡ ንግሥተ፡ ላዕሉ፡ ወታሕቱ፤
ቃለ፡ ኪዳንኪ፡ ለዓምደ፡ ብርሃን፡ ሕይወቱ፤
አምጣነ፡ ውእቱ፡ ሕይወተ፡ ኮልነ፡ ወነአምን፡ ቦቱ።

፮ ሰላም፡ ለአዕይንትኪ፡ ምሥጢረ፡ ሥላሴ፡ እለ፡ ነጸራ፤
አምጣነ፡ አስትየኪ፡ መልአክ፡ ጽዋአ[218]፡ ሕይወት፡ ከመ፡ ዕዝራ፤
እመ፡ ልዕልና፡ ጽዮን፡ ለሙሴ፡ ደብተራ፤
ሠውርኒ፡ እምነ፡ መቅሰፍት፡ ወእምነ፡ ብዙኅ፡ መከራ፤
ወመዓተ፡ ሄሮድስ፡ እምክህደት፡ አምጣነ፡ ይመጽዕ፡ ግሙራ።

፯ ሰላም፡ ለእአዛንኪ፡ ስሙዓነ፡ ስብሐት፡ ምንትው፤
እምቃለ፡ መልአክ፡ ገብርኤል፡ እምነ፡ ሰማይ፡ ፍንው፤
እመ፡ ሐዋርያት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወእመ፡ አበው፤
ዕቀብኒ፡ እግዝእትየ፡ በኮሉ፡ ፍናው፤
እስመ፡ አንሰ፡ አአውድ፡ በአውግር፡ ወበድው።

፰ ሰላም፡ ለመላትህኪ፡ ምሕዋረ[219]፡ አንብዕ፡ እንግዳ፤
እንዘ፡ ትስእሊ[220]፡ ወልደኪ፡ በእንተ፡ ዚአነ፡ ዕዳ፤
አፍጣኒተ፡ ረድዔት፡ ጽዮን፡ ባላሂተ፡ አዳም፡ ˹እምነ፡ ፍዳ[221]፤
ሰአሊ፡ ለኮልነ፡ በእንተ፡ ስደትኪ፡ እምይሁዳ፤
ወኢታርዕዩነ፡ እምነ፡ ለሲዖል፡ መንገዳ። (P. 281)

214 ለገፅኪ፡ P.
215 'እ'፡ P.
216 አእ'፡ P.
217 ሥ'፡ P.
218 ጽውአ፡ P.
219 ምህ' P.
220 'ዕሊ፡ P.
221 እምነፍዳ፡ P.

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፱ ሰላም፡ ለአእናፍኪ፡ ፀገብተ፡ መዓዛ፡ ዘወልድ፤
እለ፡ ያምዕዙ፡ ወትረ፡ ሊቃነ፡ መላዕክት፡ ዘነድ፤
፦እመ፡ ዚአነ[222]፡ ጽዮን፡ ወጽዮን፡ ፦እመ፡ ዋሕድ[223]፤
ንስዕለኪ፡ በአንብዓ፡ ሐዘን፡ ወሰጊድ፤
ወያስተብፅኡኪ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ኵሉ፡ ትውልድ።

፲ ሰላም፡ ለከናፍርኪ፡ ዘነደ፡ መለኮት፡ ሰዓመ፤
ወእለ፡ ያዘንሙ፡ ለነ፡ ስዕለተ፡ ፈጣሪ፡ ዘናመ (sic)፤
ኪደንኪ (sic)፡ ጽዮን፡ እንተ፡ ያድኅን፡ ዓለመ፤
አድኅንኒ፡ እመንሱት፡ ገብረ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ደክታመ፤
ወሥርወ፡ መንሱት፡ ትዕቢት፡ እስመ፡ ላዕሌዮ (sic)፡ ተሰይመ።

፲፩ ሰላም፡ ለአፉኪ፡ ኅብስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ዘተመገበ፤
በዕደ፡ ፋኑኤል፡ መልአክ፡ ዘይፀውር፡ መሶበ፤
ወሀብኒ፡ ጽዮን፡ ውዳሴ፡ ዘአከ (sic)፡ አስበ፤
ረሥዩ፡ ለእንቲአየ፡ ስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ሀሊበ፤
በይነ፡ ዘአነ (sic)፡ ኢይክል፡ ጽምአ[224]፡ ማይ፡ ወረኅበ[225]።

፲፪ ሰላም፡ ለአስናንኪ፡ አምሳላተ፡ ወርኅ፡ ወኮከብ፤
ወይትማሰሉ፡ በመልክእ፡ ፦ከመ፡ ፀአዳ[226]፡ ሀሊብ፤
ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ አምላክ፡ ወጽዮን፡ መራዓቱ (sic)፡ ለአብ፤
አብእኒ፡ እግዝእትየ[227]፡ ኅበ፡ ዘዚአኪ፡ ምኩራብ፤
ወእሴፎ፡ ስመኪ፡ ምስለ፡ ዘዚአኪ፡ ሕዝብ።

፲፫ ሰላም፡ ለልሳንኪ፡ እምነ፡ መዓር፡ ጥዑም፤
ለዘይሰምዖ፡ በእዝን፡ በጊዜ፡ ጸሎት፡ ወጾም፤
አቀ፞ራሪት፡ አበሳ፡ ወኃጢአት፡ ጽዮን፡ ማርያም፤
እስመ፡ ተንሥኡ፡ ላዕሌየ፡ አፅራረ፡ ፍቅር፡ ወሰላም፤
ወሀብኒ፡ ፍቅረ፡ እምፍቅረ፡ ዚአኪ፡ እም።

222 እመዚአነ፡ P.
223 እመዋሕድ፡ P.
224 ፅማ፡ P.
225 'ሀበ፡ P.
226 ከመፀአዳ፡ P.
227 'ዚ' P.

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፲፬ ሰላም፡ ለቃልኪ፡ ቃለ፡ ርህራሔ፡ ወሣህል፤
አስምእነ፡ ለኵልነ፡ ውሉደ፡ ወንጌል፤
ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ መለኮት፡ ወጽዮን፡ እመ፡ ነበልባል፤
አድኅንነ፡ እመብርሃን፡ እምነ፡ ሙስና፡ ወሀጉል፤
እለ፡ ያመጽኡ፡ አፅራረ፡ አሚን፡ በዛቲ፡ መዋዕል።

፲፭ ሰላም፡ ለእስትንፋስኪ[228]፡ እስትንፋስ (sic)፡ ሕይወት፡ ወፈውስ፤
ለእለ፡ የአምኑ፡ ልበ፡ በኪዳንኪ፡ ቅዱስ፤
ጽዮን፡ እምየ፡ በዘመነ፡ ካህድ፡ ወባእስ[229]፤
ኪያየ፡ ረስዩኒ[230]፡ ፣ከመ፡ ፍቁርኪ[231]፡ ዮሐንስ፤
ወአሚነ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ወዘዘአኪ (sic)፡ እዜኑ፡ ቅድመ፡ ንጉሥ።

፲፮ ሰላም፡ ለጉርዔኪ፡ በጽምአ፡ ማይ፡ ዘተአስረ፤
በስደተ፡ ግብፅ፡ ዮሴፍ፡ አመ፡ ምስሌኪ፡ ሖረ፤
ከመ፡ አስተ[ይ]ኪዮ፡ ለያሬድ፡ ዘስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ዘመረ፤
አስትይኒ፡ በርኅራኄኪ[232]፡ ጽውአ፡ ልቡና፡ ሥዉረ[233]፤
ወሠውሪ፡ በደብርኪ፡ [ለ]ዓምደ፡ ብርሃን፡ ሥሙረ።

፲፯ ሰላም፡ ለክሳድኪ፡ ዘይደልዎ፡ አኰቴት[234]፤
ወይፀንን፡ ወትረ፡ ለስግደት፡ ወለጸሎት፤
ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ወእመ፡ ፈጣሪ፡ ፀባዖት፤
ሰአሊ፡ በእንቲአየ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ኵሉ፡ ፍጥረት፤
ወወልድኪ፡ አምላከ፡ ሣህል፡ ወምሕረት።

፲፰ ሰላም፡ ለመትከፍትኪ፡ በልዕልና፡ ዘተሰርገወ፤
በልብሰ፡ ብርሃን፡ ወወርቅ፡ ዘፃእደወ፤
በምክንያተ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ አንቀጸ፡ ገነት፡ ተርህወ፤
አርህዊ፡ ልቡናየ፡ በአንቀፀ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ዘተአፅወ፤
እስመ፡ ህሊናየ፡ እምነ፡ ድካም፡ ከመ፡ ሰምዕ፡ ተመስወ። (P. 282)

228 ለዕ' P.
229 'ዕ' P.
230 'ይ' P.
231 ከመፍቁርኪ፡ P.
232 'ርህራሄ'፡ P.
233 'ው' P.
234 አኮ' P.

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፲፱ ሰላም፡ ለዘባንኪ፡ ለመድኃኔ፡ ዓለም፡ አትሮንሱ፤
እስራኤል፡ እምግብፅ፡ ወእምገፀ፡ ፈርዖን፡ አመ፡ ፈለሱ፤
ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ታቦተ፡ ሙሴ፡ ወኢያሱ፤
ስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ድንግል፡ ፦ለዓምደ፡ ብርሃን[235]፡ ሞገሱ፤
፦ወእለ፡ ይትዌከሉ[236]፡ ስመኪ፡ መንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ ወረሱ።

፳ ሰላም፡ ለእንግድዓኪ፡ ለብርሃነ፡ ዓለም፡ ተቋሙ፤
ሰማየ፡ ሰማያት፡ ጽዮን፡ ለዓማኑኤል (sic)፡ እሙ፤
ንዒ፡ ይቤሉኪ፡ ሰማዕታተ፡ ወልድ፡ አመ፡ ደክሙ፤
ምስለ፡ ብርሃናኤል፡ ላእክኪ፡ ቀታሌ፡ አጋንንት፡ ፦እለ፡ ተረግሙ[237]፤
እስመ፡ ብርሃናኤል፡ ያበርህ፡ ለዘፀልመ፡ ቦሙ።

፳፩ ሰላም፡ ለሕጽንኪ[238]፡ ደብረ፡ እግዚአ፡ ኮሉ፡ ዓለም፤
ወንመስለኪ፡ ንህነ፡ በጽርሐ፡ አርያም፤
ንግሥተ፡ አርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ አጋንንተ፡ ሲዖል፡ ወገሀነም፤
ይዘረዉ፡ በስምኪ፡ መብረቀ፡ ሐጋይ፡ ወከርም፤
ወዘተወከለ፡ በዚአኪ፡ አጋንንተ፡ ያሰጥም።

፳፪ ሰላም፡ ለአእዳውኪ፡ ሠረገላሁ፡ ለወልድ፤
እምነ፡ ሀገር፡ ለሀገር፡ እንዘ፡ ይሰደድ፤
ስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ኃይለ፡ ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፡ ዋሕድ፤
፦ከመ፡ ፍቁረ[239]፡ ወልድኪ፡ ረዓየ፡ ምስጢር፡ ዮሐንስ፡ ወልደ፡ ነጐድጓድ[240]፤
ረሥዩኒ[241]፡ ይቤለኪ፡ ገብርኪ፡ ተልሚድ።

፳፫ ሰላም፡ ለመዛርእኪ፡ ፀዋሬ፡ ዓቢይ፡ ምሥጢር፤
ዘይሰመይ፡ ናሁ፡ ፦መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም[242]፡ ክቡር፤
ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ጽዮን፡ ሰማያዊት፡ መንበር፤
አድ[ኅ]ንኒ፡ እግዝእትየ፡ እምኵሉ፡ አጽራር፤
እስመ፡ ተንሥኡ፡ ላዕሌየ፡ ኅልዋነ[243]፡ ሲዖል፡ ወሀገር።

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235 ለአምደብርሃን፡ P.
236 ወእለይትዌከሉ፡ P.
237 እለተረግሙ፡ P.
238 ለህፅ' P.
239 ከመፍቁረ፡ P.
240 ነን' P.
241 'ይ' P.
242 መድኃኔዓለም፡ P.
243 ሕ' P.

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፳፬ ሰላም፡ ለኵርናዕኪ፡ ግሩም፡ ወመድምም፤
ፀዋሬ፡ ዘኢይትከሀል፡ ወልድ፡ በዘሰብእ፡ አቅም፤
ደብረ፡ ነበልባል፡ ጽዮን፡ ወደብረ፡ ፀሐይ፡ አዳም፤
እቀብኒ፡ እግዝእትየ፡ እምነ፡ መስቴማ፡ ርጉም፤
ወዝንቱ፡ ያወርድ፡ ጎበ፡ እዜሁ፡ ዘኢይነውም።

፳፭ ሰላም፡ ለእመታትኪ፡ እለ፡ ኢየአርፉ፡ ፲እምነ፡ ፈትል[244]፤
በቤተ፡ መቅደስ፡ ከዊኖሙ፡ ምስለ፡ ፍሱሕ፡ ገብርኤል፤
ማኅቶት[245]፡ ዓለም፡ ጽዮን፡ ወላዲት፡ ወድንግል፤
አንቲ፡ ውእቱ፡ ኃይለ፡ ነገሥታት፡ በጊዜ፡ ቀትል፤
ወአንቲ፡ እሙ፡ ለካህናት፡ አክሊል።

፳፮ ሰላም፡ ለእራኃትኪ፡ ውሁባነ፡ መና፡ ወጽዋዕ፤
እምነ፡ ሕሊና፡ ወልብ፡ ለዘይስእለኪ[246]፡ ሰብእ፤
ጽዮን፡ ባላሂት፡ እምነ፡ ረሀብ፡ ፅኑዕ፤
፲ከመ፡ ያድኅነነ[247]፡ እምነ፡ ረሀብ፡ ወፅምዕ፤
ሰአሊ፡ ጎበ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ወሀቤ፡ መና፡ ኅቡዕ[248]።

፳፯ ሰላም፡ ለአፃብዕኪ፡ አምሳላተ፡ ቃላት፡ ፲ቱ፤
እምብርሃነ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ያበርሁ፡ አፃብአ፡ ዚአኪ፡ እሙንቱ፤
ምስጢረ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወለኤርምያስ፡ ትንቢቱ፤
አንብርኂ፡ ምስለ፡ ዕዝራ፡ እስከ፡ የሐልፍ፡ መዓቱ፤
ለወልድኪ፡ ፲መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም[249]፡ እግዚአ፡ ላዕሉ፡ ወታሕቱ።

፳፰ ሰላም፡ ፲ለአጽፋረ፡ እዴኪ[250]፡ እምነ፡ ከዋክብት፡ ዘያፀድሉ፤
ወሠይፈ፡ ነበልባል፡ እሙንቱ፡ ለአጋንንት፡ ሲያል፡ ኵሉ፤
ንግሥተ፡ መላእክት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወንግሥተ፡ ታሕቱ[251]፡ ወላዕሉ፤
ሶበ፡ መጽአ፡ ለተፃብአ፡ ሳጥናኤል፡ በኃይሉ፤
፲እለ፡ ይትአመኑ[252]፡ በስምኪ፡ ምስለ፡ ሠራዊቱ፡ ይቅትሉ። (P. 283)

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244 እምነፈትል፡ P.
245 ማህ' P.
246 ለዘይሥዕለኪ፡ P.
247 ከመያድኅነነ፡ P.
248 ህ' P.
249 መድኃኔዓለም፡ P.
250 ለአጽፋረዕዴኪ፡ P.
251 'ህ' P.
252 እለይትአመኑ፡ P.

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፳፱ ሰላም፡ ለአጥባትኪ፡ ሙሐዘ፡ ሀሊብ፡ ዘድንግልና፤
አንቲ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዕፀ፡ ምልክአም፡ ዘደብረ፡ ሲና፤
ማዕሰረ[253]፡ አጋንንት፡ ስምኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወለተ፡ ሐና፤
ወተአሥረ፡ በስምኪ፡ ምስለ፡ ሠራዊቱ፡ ሳጥና፤
ይትቀጠቀጥ፡ በኃይልኪ፡ ወኢይረክብ፡ ጥዒና።

፴ ሰላም፡ ለገቦኪ፡ ሠቀ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ ዘአጠቀ፤
እንተ፡ ይመስል፡ መብረቀ፤
ወስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ይከውነኒ፡ ሥንቀ[254]፤
ሶበ፡ ሰምዐ[255]፡ ስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ እንተ፡ ይሰማዕ፡ ርሑቀ[256]፤
ዲያብሎስ፡ ደንጊያ፡ በእደ[257]፡ ብርሃናኤል፡ ወድቀ።

፴፩ ሰላም፡ ለከርሥኪ፡ እምነ፡ ዓለማት፡ ዘከብረ፤
የዐቢ[258]፡ ወይትሌዓል፡ እስመ፡ ዘኢይፀወር፡ ዖረ፤
እመ፡ ማኅየዊ[259]፡ ጽዮን፡ ንዌድሰኪ፡ ወትረ፤
ዘይሰመይ፡ በስምኪ፡ ታቦተ፡ ሙሴ፡ ዘተገብረ፤
ማኅደረ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ዳጎን፡ ቀጥቀጠ፡ ወሰበረ።

፴፪ ሰላም፡ ለልብኪ፡ ምሉአ፡ ርህራሄ፡ ወምሕረት፤
ምስለ፡ ሰጊድ፡ ወጸሎት፤
ለዘጸልመ፡ ቦቱ፡ ጽዮን፡ ብርሃነ፡ ሌሊት፤
አብራሂ፡ ልቡናየ፡ በዘመነ፡ ፍጻሜ፡ ወሰማኂት፤
እስመ፡ ይበዝኑ፡ አፅራርኪ፡ ወአፅራረ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ጸባዖት።

፴፫ ሰላም፡ ለኵልያትኪ፡ ፦እለ፡ ያጤይሱ[260]፡ ሠናያተ፤
ዘይከውን፡ ለኃጥአን፡ ምሕረተ፡ ወሕይወተ፤
ነቅዓ፡ መድኃኒት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወሀብኒ፡ መድኃኒተ፤
እስመ፡ ይከውን፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ኵሉ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ዘተከብተ፤
እምነ፡ ከሀድያን፡ ወዕቡያን[261]፡ ወእለ፡ ገብሩ፡ ኃጢአተ።

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253 ማለዕረ(sic) ፡ P.
254 ስ' P.
255 'አ፡ P.
256 'ሁ' P.
257 'ዕ' P.
258 'አ' P.
259 'ህ' P.
260 እለያጤይሱ፡ P.
261 ወእ' P.

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፴፬ ሰላም፡ ለሕሊናኪ፡ ምሕረተ፡ ኃጥእ፡ ዘይሔሊ፤
እንተ፡ በንስሐ፡ ተመይጠ፡ ፲ከመ፡ ጳውሊ[262]፤
ጽዮን፡ ድንግል፡ ጎበ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ሰአሊ፤
ወአድኅንኒ፡ በርህራሄኪ፡ እምዲያብሎስ፡ ቀታሊ፤
እስመ፡ ድኩም፡ አነ፡ ዘዚአኪ፡ ወአሊ።

፴፭ ሰላም፡ ለአማዑትኪ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘገብሮ፤
ወእምነ፡ ኵሉ፡ አክበሮ፤
ማርያም፡ ጽዮን፡ ፲ለመድኃኔ፡ ዓለም[263]፡ ማኅደሮ[264]፤
ዘፀውአ፡ ስመ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ወዘገብሮ፡ ተዝካሮ፤
ክሳዶ፡ ለዲያብሎስ፡ በሠይፈ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ መተሮ።

፴፮ ሰላም፡ ለንዋየ፡ ውስጥኪ፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ልምሉም፤
ወዘያጠፍዕ፡ ናሁ፡ መንፈሰ፡ ድካም፡ ወሕማም፤
ማርያም፡ እምየ፡ ደብረ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወሰላም፤
አጥፍኢ፡ ወዘርዝሪ፡ ምክረ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ኢግሩም፤
እስመ፡ ላዕሌየ፡ መከረ፡ ያጥፍአኒ፡ እምንዋም።

፴፯ ሰላም፡ ለሕንብርትኪ፡ ማዕከለ፡ ከርሥ፡ ዘሀለወ፤
ክቡር፡ ወልዑል፡ ወበልብሰ፡ ሰማይ፡ ተሰርገወ፤
አግአዚት፡ ጽዮን፡ በክህደት፡ ዘተፄወወ፤
አግብኢ፡ መንገሌኪ፡ ሃይማኖቶ፡ እስከ፡ ለበወ፤
ወመንገሌሁ፡ ፈንዊ፡ ገብርኤልሃ፡ ዘተፈነወ።

፴፰ ሰላም፡ ለማሕፀንኪ[265]፡ ማኅደረ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፤
ዘተከለለ፡ ናሁ፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፤
ጽዮን፡ ማኅደረ[266]፡ አምላከ (sic)፡ ወጽዮን፡ ማኅደረ[267]፡ ንጉሥ፤
ይቄድሱኪ፡ መላእክት፡ እንዘ፡ ይቀውሙ፡ በመርስ፤
እስመ፡ ድንግል፡ ማኅደረ[268]፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ወተስላስ። (P. 284)

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262 ከመጳውሊ፡ P.
263 ለመድኃኔዓለም፡ P.
264 'ሀ' P.
265 'ሀ' P.
266 'ሀ' P.
267 'ሀ' P.
268 'ሀ' P.

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፴፱ ሰላም፡ ለሐቄኪ[269]፡ ከመ፡ ብርተ፡ ሐፂን፡ ዘፀንአ፤
ወያስተአፅብ፡ ሰብአ፤
ጽዮን፡ ስምኪ[270]፡ ያረዊ፡ ጽምአ፤
ወያፀግብ፡ ከዊኖ፡ ጎብስተ፡ ሕይወት፡ ለዘበልአ፤
ወዕቀቢዮ፡ ለዘደረሰ፡ ዘዚአኪ፡ መልክአ።

፵ ሰላም፡ ለአቁያፅኪ፡ ህልያነ፡ ፀጋም፡ ወየማን፤
ወልቡሳነ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወማዕስ፡ ምሉአ፡ መንፈስ፡ ወብርሃን፤
አልህቅኒ፡ እምየ፡ ደብረ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ጽዮን፤
አጥብብኒ፡ በርህራሄኪ፡ እምነ፡ ኵሉ፡ ጠቢባን፤
ወአቁምኒ፡ ምስለ፡ ጻድቃን፡ በደብረ፡ ጽዮን፡ መካን።

፵፩ ሰላም፡ ለአብራክኪ፡ ዘአስተብረካ፡ በመቅደስ፤
ለአብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፤
አንቀፀ፡ ገነት፡ ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፤
አድኅንኒ፡ እማየ፡ ሙስና፡ ወእምነ፡ መቅሰፍት፡ ወተፅናስ፤
ወአንሰ፡ ገብርኪ፡ ድኩመ[271]፡ አእምሮ፡ ወንዑስ።

፵፪ ሰላም፡ ለአእጋርኪ፡ ተወካፌ፡ እቅፍት[272]፡ ወአስዋከ፡ ግብፅ፤
እንዘ፡ የሐውሩ፡ በረዊፅ፤
ሠረገላ፡ ኤልያስ፡ ጽዮን፡ ወትንቢተ፡ ኢሳይያስ፡ ወልደ፡ አሞፅ፤
ባልህኒ፡ እግዝእትየ፡ እምኵናተ፡ ፀላሚ፡ ወሐፅ፤
እስመ፡ ኢይክል፡ አንሰ፡ ገብርኪ፡ ድንጉፅ።

፵፫ ሰላም፡ ለሰኮናኪ፡ ቀዳሴ፡ ሐቅለ፡ ግብፅ፡ ወቃዴስ፤
እምነ፡ ጣዖታት፡ ዘአእባን፡ ወማኅደረ[273]፡ ሰይጣን፡ ርኵስ[274]፤
ኢትመንንኒ፡ ጽዮን፡ በርእሰ[275]፡ ባሕታዊ፡ መነኰስ[276]፤
ዘይሰመይ፡ ገብረ፡ ሕይወት፡ ወእንተ፡ የሐውር፡ በመንፈስ፤
ወዘሐነፀ፡ በስምኪ፡ ሕንፃ፡ ቤት፡ ወተስላስ።

269 'ቄ' P.
270 'መ' P.
271 'ኵ' P.
272 ሕ' P.
273 'ህ' P.
274 'ኩ' P.
275 'ዕ' P.
276 'ኮ' P.

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፵፬ ሰላም፡ ለመከየድኪ፡ ሱቱፋን፡ ሥቃይ፡ ወፃማ፤
ወለአፃብእ፡ ዘእግርኪ፡ እምነ፡ ፍኖት፡ ዘደክማ፤
ጽዮን፡ ባሕታዊት፡ ሰዋስወ፡ ራማ፤
አእርቅኒ፡ አራቅትየ፡ ምስለ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ፈማ፤
ወአንቲ፡ ተአምሪ፡ ለነፍስየ፡ ድካማ።

፵፭ ሰላም፡ ለአጽፋረ፡ እግርኪ፡ ብርሃናተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወምድር፤
አመ፡ የሐውራ፡ ለስደት፡ እምነ፡ ሀገር፡ ለሀገር፤
ሰዋስወ፡ ነፍሳት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወጽዮን፡ ሐመር፤
አዕርግኒ[277]፡ መንገለ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወአእድውኒ፡ እምባሕር፤
ከመ፡ ኢያውእየኒ፡ ባሕረ፡ እሳት፡ እምነ፡ ዘዚአየ፡ ግብር።

፵፮ ሰላም፡ ለቆምኪ፡ አምሳለ፡ ሐመልማል፡ ዘሙሴ፤
ዘይደልዎ፡ ውዳሴ፤
ስዕለተ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ያጸድቅ፡ አባሴ፤
ወሰአሊ፡ በእንቲአየ፡ በጎበ፡ ቅድስት፡ ሥላሴ፤
እስመ፡ ኃጢአትየ፡ የዐቢ[278]፡ እምኃጥአቱ (sic)፡ ለምናሴ።

፵፯ ሰላም፡ ለመልክእኪ፡ አምሳለ፡ ነበልባል፡ ዘማህቶት፤
እንተ፡ ያበርህ፡ በሌሊት፤
ጽዮን፡ መንበረ፡ ጸባዖት፡ ወጽዮን፡ መንበረ፡ መለኮት፤
ኪሩቤል፡ ወሱራፌል፡ ይቄድሱኪ፡ በልሳናት፤
ምስለ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወገብርኤል፡ ሊቃነ፡ መላእክት፡ ወኃይላት።

፵፰ ሰላም፡ ለፀአተ፡ ነፍስኪ፡ ባላሒተ፡ ነፍሳት፡ እምደይን፤
ወእም፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ርጉም፡ ወተአዛዚሁ፡ ሰይጣን፤
ጽዮን፡ ኃይልኪ፡ ያጠፍዕ፡ ወያማስን፤
አጋንንተ፡ ሲኦል[279]፡ አፅራረ፡ ሰብእ፡ ምስለ፡ ዲያብሎስ፡ ምኑን፤
ያሰጥም፡ በኃይልኪ፡ ገብርኪ፡ ⌜ዓምደ፡ ብርሃን[280]። (P. 285)

277 አእ' P.
278 የአቢ፡ P.
279 'ዖ' P.
280 አምደብርሃን፡ P.

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፵፱ ሰላም፡ እብል፡ በድነ፡ ሥጋኪ፡ ከመ፡ ከልበኒ፡ ምዑዝ፤
ወልምላሜሁ፡ ይሜኒ፡ ከመ፡ ዘሊባኖስ፡ አርዝ፤
፲እመ፡ አምላክ[281]፡ ጽዮን፡ ፲ስመ፡ ዚአኪ[282]፡ ሐዋዝ፤
ሰድኒ፡ መንገለ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ወኅብስተ፡ ገነት፡ ኅቡዝ፤
ወአነ፡ ለወልድኪ፡ ወለዘዚአኪ፡ እዙዝ።

፶ ሰላም፡ ለግንዘተ፡ ሥጋኪ፡ በልብሰ፡ ብርሃን፡ ግልቡብ፤
እንተ፡ ይመስል፡ ብርሃኑ፡ አምሳለ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወኰከብ[283]፤
ጽዮን፡ አንቲ፡ ትዕግሥተ፡ አብርሃም፡ ወኢዮብ፤
ሰውርኒ፡ እምነ፡ ዓለም፡ እንተ፡ ታወርድ፡ ውስተ፡ ግብ፤
ወንተልወኪ፡ በስደት፡ በሐዲግ (sic)፡ እም፡ ወአብ።

፶፩ ሰላም፡ ለመቃብሪኪ (sic)፡ ማኅደረ፡ ሠለስቱ[284]፡ ዕለት፤
ወለፍልሰትኪ፡ ሰላም፡ ወዘዚአኪ፡ ዕርገት፤
ተስፋ፡ መላእክት፡ ጽዮን፡ ወተስፋ፡ ዕደው፡ ወአንስት፤
ይልህሱ፡ ፀበለ፡ እግርኪ፡ ሊቃነ፡ መላእክት፡ ወነገሥታት፤
እስመ፡ አንቲ፡ እመ፡ አምላክ፡ ወላዕለ፡ ኵሉ፡ ፍጥረት።

፶፪ በእሉ፡ ሰ[ን]በታትኪ፡ ንስእለኪ፡ ድንግል፤
ፀሐየ፡ ፀሐያት፡ እምነ፡ ወእመ፡ ምሕረት፡ ወሣህል፤
ወንቄድሰኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ልዑል፤
ለዘተሰምየ፡ በስምኪ፡ ገብረ፡ ዚአኪ፡ ወተክል፤
ኢታብዒ፡ ንግሥትየ፡ ውስተ፡ ገሐነም፡ ወሲዖል።
ስብሐት፡ ለኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ እመ፡ አዶናይ፤
ስብሐት፡ ለኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ደብረ፡ ብርሃን፡ ወደብረ፡ ፀሐይ፤
ስብሐት፡ ለኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ለባሕታዊያን (sic)፡ ሲማይ፤
ስብሐት፡ ለኪ፡ ጽዮን፡ ኃይለ፡ ሰማዕታት፡ ወምስካይ።

፶፫ ንዑ፡ ንስግድ፡ ለጽዮን፡ ማርያም፤
ንዑ፡ ንስግድ፡ ፲ለመድኃኔ፡ ዓለም[285]፡ እም፤
ንዑ፡ ንስግድ፡ ለተስፋ፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ አዳም፤
ንዑ፡ ንስግድ፡ በፍርሃት፡ ለንግሥተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወአርያም፤
በይነ፡ ዘይደልዋ፡ ሰጊድ፡ ለዓለም፡ ወለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን። (P. 286)

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281 እመአምላክ፡ P.
282 ስመዚአኪ፡ P.
283 ወኮ' P.
284 ሰ' P.
285 ለመድኃኔዓለም፡ P.

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3.2.2 Translation

Effigy[286] of Zion

Effigy of Zion, Holy of Holies, the Mother of God

1. Salutation to the mention of Your **name**, which is invoked continually;
By the mouths of Angels and men at the time of praise and glory;
Our Mother Zion, the Queen of heaven and earth;
Those who deny Your Virginity, children of punishment and torment;
Let them vanish and be destroyed from every country.

2. Salutation to the **hair** of Your head, which is decorated with the celestial gem of Sapphire;
Behold! In the sanctuary of Levi;[287]
Savior of the world Zion, the Mother of Christ the heavenly;[288]
Save me for the sake of Your name from sickness which comes suddenly;
I have no health, for I am sick.

3. Salutation to Your **head**, which is surrounded by Sun and lightning;
And surrounded by Star[s] and the Moon which shine from a distance;
Mother of Divinity, Zion, savior from distress;
For us who hope for Your intercession and who believe in the true faith;
Hide me from the world of flesh and from the love of silver and gold.

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286 In this section the Ge'ez term *Mälkə'* is translated as 'effigy' (pl. 'effigies'). Habtemichael (2007: 701) lists different Effigies of St. Mary (such as: *Mälkə'a Maryam*, *Mälkə'a Kidanä Məhrät*, *Mälkə'a Śə'əl*, *Mälkə'a Maryam Ṣəyon*, *Mälkə'a Edom*, *Mälkə'a Qʷəsqʷam*, *Mälkə'a Fəlsäta*, *Mälkə'a Lədäta*, *Mälkə'a Bä'ata*). Budge (1933: 236–244) presents 'Salutations of the members of the body of the Blessed Virgin Mary', which contains 42 hymns. Nevertheless it differs from the commonly used effigy of Mary in the EOTC. EMML 1220 (ff. 5ʳ–10ʳ) preserves *Mälkə'a Ṣəyon*, but it differs from the text I present here. It goes: **ሰላም፡ ለዝክረ፡ ስምኪ፡ ከመ፡ ኮለ፡ ገዳም፡ ዘይጼኑ፤ ለሥዕርተ፡ ርእስኪ፡ ሰላም፡ ወለርእስኪ፡ በበዘመኑ፤** …

287 Among the Israelites the tribe of Levi was assigned special responsibility for the Ark and the Tabernacle (for example Num. 1:50, Deut. 10:8).

288 There is also similar expression of Christ in the chant of Epiphany as **ተጠምቀ፡ ሰማያዊ፡ በእደ፡ መሬታዊ።** 'The heavenly one [i.e. Christ] has been baptized by the hand of the earthly one (i.e. John the baptist)' (cf. *Mäṣḥafä Dəggʷa, Mäskäräm* 1st, *Wazema Zäzäwätr*, Tənśa'e publishing House 1988: 11). Similarly, Dillmann's antiphonary records: **እፎ፡ አጥመቆ፡ በመይ** (sic)**፡ መሬታዊ፡ ለሰማያዊ፡** 'How the terrestrial baptized the celestial with water?' (cf. Hammerschmidt 1988: 154).

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4. Salutation to Your **face**, like flaming fire;
For those who deny Your name called 'Covenant of Mercy';
Zion, [the] prophesy of the Prophets and preaching of the Apostles;
Hope of the people of *Täwaḥədo* and hope of all creatures;
And You are consoler from grief for him who called upon You in prayer.

5. Salutation to Your **eyelashes** above Your two eyes;
They are satiated with spirit;
Zion, provision for those who are hungry, Queen of above and below;
The word of Your covenant is life to *ʿAmdä Bərhan*;[289]
For He is life of us all and we believe in Him.

6. Salutation to Your **eyes**, which looked at the Mystery of the Trinity;
For the Angel[290] made You drink the cup of life like Ezra;
Exalted Mother Zion, Tabernacle of Moses;
Hide me from punishment and from many temptations;
And from denial (of) the wrath of Herod, for it will come always.

7. Salutation to Your **ears**, hearers of twin praise;
From the word of the Angel Gabriel, sent from heaven;
Zion, mother of Apostles and mother of Fathers;
My Lady, safeguard me in all ways;
For I am wandering around mountains and wilderness.

8. Salutation to Your **cheeks**, the course of tears [that come as] guests;
While You beseech your Son concerning our debt;
Zion, the one who quickens help, savior of Adam from punishment;
Pray for us all for the sake of Your exile from Judah;
And do not cause us, our Mother, to see the path to Hell. (P. 281.)

9. Salutation to Your **nostrils**, full of the aroma of the Son;
Which the Archangels of fire are continually filling with sweet odor;
Zion our Mother and Zion Mother of the One;[291]
We beseech You with tear of grief and prostration;
And all generations declare You 'blessed' together with us.

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289 Lit. 'Column of light'. But from this and several succeeding *arkes* (no. 16, 19, 48), we can assume that this name may refer to the composer of *Malkəʾa Ṣəyon*.

290 According to the Ethiopian tradition the angel who feed St. Mary is Fanu'el (cf. *arke* 11 bellow).

291 Implies Jesus—the only begotten Son of the Father.

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10. Salutation to Your **lips**, which the flame of Divinity kissed;
And which caused to rain, upon us the rain of entreaty of the Creator;
Zion, Your covenant which saves the world;
Save me, Your poor servant, from temptation;
For pride, the root of temptation, is appointed over me.

11. Salutation to Your **mouth**, which is fed with heavenly bread;
By the hand of the Angel Fanu'el, who bears the platter;
And give me, o Zion, the wage [of] your praise;
Make Your name [like] a milk, to me;
For my sake; I cannot bear the thirst of water and hunger.

12. Salutation to Your **teeth**, the images of the Moon and the Star;
And they are likened by image to white milk;
Zion, Mother of God and Zion bride of the Father;
My Lady, cause me to enter your sanctuary;
And I hope in Your name together with Your people.

13. Salutation to Your **tongue**, which is sweeter than honey;
For the one who hears it at the time of prayer and fasting;
Zion Mary, [you are] the one who cools transgression and sin;
For the enemies of love and peace have risen against me;
Mother, give me love, from Your love.

14. Salutation to Your **word**, which is the word of compassion and mercy;
Cause us all to hear, children of the Gospel;
Zion Mother of Divinity and Zion Mother of the Flame;
Save us, Mother of Light, from perdition and destruction;
[From] those who bring the enemies of faith during this time.

15. Salutation to Your **breath**, the breath of life and healing;
For those who make the heart believe in Your holy covenant;
Zion, my Mother in the time of denial and conflict;
Make myself like Your beloved John;
And I will proclaim the faith in Your Son and Yourself before the King.

16. Salutation to Your **throat**, which is bound by the thirst for water;
Joseph went with you in [Your] exile to Egypt;
As You caused Yared to drink, who praised Your name in song;
Make me drink (from) the hidden cup of understanding in Your compassion;
And shelter in Your mountain *ʿAmdä Bərhan*, (may he be) acceptable.

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17. Salutation to Your **neck**, which deserves praise;
It bows continually in worship and prayer;
Zion mother of many and mother of the Creator, [Lord of] Hosts;
Pray for me and for all creatures;
You and Your Son, God of mercy and compassion.

18. Salutation to Your **shoulders**, decorated by the Highest;
White in Your garment of light and gold;
[O!] Zion, because of You, the gate of Paradise is opened;
Open my understanding, which is shut up by the gate of sin;
For my mind has melted like wax out of weakness. (P. 282.)

19. Salutation to Your **back**, the throne of the Savior of the World;
When the Israelites departed from Egypt and from the face of Pharaoh;[292]
Mary Zion, the Ark of Moses and Joshua;[293]
Your name is grace for *ʿAmdä Bərhan*;
Those who trust in Your name will inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.

20. Salutation to Your **chest**, which is the stand of the Light of the World;
Heaven of heavens, Zion the Mother of Immanuel;
The martyrs of the Son say to You, 'Come' as they grow weak;
With Bərhana'el Your messenger, slayer of the cursed demons;
For Bərhana'el gives light to those who are in darkeness.

21. Salutation to Your **bosom**, mountain of the Lord of the entire world;
And we liken You to the palace of the highest[294] heaven;
Zion the Queen of the highest; the demons of Hell and Gehenna,
Lightning of summer and winter will be scattered by Your name;
The one who trusts in (what is) Yours shall sink the demons.

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292 The allegorical reference is to the backs of the Israelites as they fled.

293 The Ark of the Covenant is called by various titles, such as 'Ark of the Lord', 'Ark of God', 'Ark of Testimony', 'Ark of the Law' etc. By extension, in the Ethiopian tradition it is also called in relation to Moses (i.e. 'Ark of Moses'), as he received it from the Lord at Mt. Sinai (Exod. 24). Joshua, the successor of Moses as leader of Israelites, did many wonders with the help of the Ark (Josh. 3:1ff.). Hence the composer of this effigy relates the Ark with both: 'Ark of Moses and Joshua'.

294 **ኦርያም፡** is translated as 'highest'.

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22. Salutation to Your **hands**, chariot of the Son;
From country to country while He was fleeing;[295]
Zion, Your name is power to the one *Gäbrä Ḥəywät*;[296]
Like the beloved of Your Son—John, seer of mysteries,[297] the son of Thunder;
'Make me (Your)' disciple, Your servant says to You.

23. Salutation to Your **arms**, bearers of great mysteries;
Behold Him who is called the glorious Savior of the World;
Celestial Zion, throne for the Lord;
My Lady, save me from all [my] enemies;
For the custodians[298] of Hell and country are raised against me.

24. Salutation to Your **elbow**, awesome and astonishing,
Bearer of the Son over whom the capacity of man cannot gain power;
Zion, the mountain of flame and beautiful mountain of the Sun;
My Lady, safeguard me from the cursed Satan;
For he causes (man) to descend to [the place of] its worm that does not sleep.

25. Salutation to Your **forearms**, which have no rest from spinning;
They are in the temple together with the joyful Gabriel;
Lamp of the World, Zion, Mother and Virgin;
You are the might of kings at the time of battle;
And you are His Mother, the crown of priests.[299]

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295 The reference is to Jesus' flight as an infant (Mtt. 2:12 ff.).

296 This implies St. *abunä* Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus. The name Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus was given to him when he was born (cf. Marrassini 2003, 6, 123 (text), 2, 41 (trans.)). However, tradition gives the name Gäbrä Ḥəywät lit. 'Servant of life' to the saint. According to the tradition of the EOTC, the name of churches dedicated to St. Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus are including the word *Ḥəywät* 'life', such as *Mäkanä Ḥəywät* 'the place of life' *Mäkanä Ḥəyawan* 'place of the living' etc., for the commemoration of Saint Gäbrä Ḥəywät.

297 Gəʿəz **ረዓየ፡ ምስጢር፡** 'seer of mystery/ies'. This alludes to the Biblical Revelation of John, in Gəʿəz **ራእየ፡ ለዮሐንስ፡** 'vision of John'.

298 **ሕልዋነ፡ ሲዖል፡** [P]; but corrected according to Dillmann (1864: 577) **ኀልዋነ፡ ሲዖል፡** 'custodians of Hell'.

299 **ለካህናት፡ አክሊል፡ /አክሊሎሙ፡ ለካህናት፡** 'Crown of priests' is one of the epithets of Christ.

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26. Salutation to the **palm of Your hands**, which were given manna and the cup;
For the man who beseaches You from mind and heart;
Zion, savior from severe hunger;
In order that He may save us from hunger and thirst,
Pray to Your Son, giver of the hidden Manna.

27. Salutation to Your **fingers**, effigies of the Ten Commandments;
Your fingers are shining more than the light of the sun;
Zion, the mystery of Isaiah and prophecy of Jeremiah;
Place me with Ezra until the passing of the wrath,
Of Your Son, Savior of the World, Lord of the above and earth.

28. Salutation to Your **fingernails**, shining more than the stars;
And they are a sword of flame for all the demons of hell;
Zion, Queen of Angels and Queen of below and above;
When Satan with his power comes to make war;
Those who trust in Your name, may they kill (him) together with his hosts. (P. 283.)

29. Salutation to Your **breasts**, flowing with the milk of virginity;
You are the tree of *Məlkəʾam*[300] of the Mount Sinai;
Zion, the daughter of Hanna, Your name binds the demons;
And Satan, together with his hosts, is bound by Your name;
He will be smashed by Your power and will not get health.

30. Salutation to Your **side**, girded with celestial sackcloth;
Which is like lightning;
Zion, your name will be a provision for me;
When he heard Your name, which is heard from far off;
The Devil, dismayed, fell at the hand of Bərḥanaʾel.

31. Salutation to your **belly**, which is exalted more than the worlds;
It is greatest and highest, for it bore what cannot be born;
Zion the Mother of the Life-giver, we praise you continually;

300 Traditional Ethiopian name for Moses.

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The Ark of Moses, built and called[301] by Your name;
He [the *Tabot*] smashed and broke Dagon,[302] the dwelling of Satan.

32. Salutation to Your **heart**, full of compassion and mercy;
With worship and prayer;
Zion, light of the night for the one who is in darkness;
You are illuminator of my understanding in the last day and the eight[303] [thousand];
For your enemies, and the enemies of Your Son (the Lord) of Hosts, will be a multitude.

33. Salutation to Your **kidneys**, which give off the smoke of goodness;
Which will be mercy and life for sinners;
Zion, the fountain of medicine, give me medicine;
For Your Son's Flesh became the medicine of all, which is concealed;
From the infidels, the arrogant and those who commit sin.

34. Salutation to Your **mind**, which thinks mercy for the sinner;
For the one who returns[304] in repentance like Paul;
Virgin Zion, pray to Your Son;
And save me in Your compassion from the Devil, the killer;
For I, your servant, am weak.

35. Salutation to Your **intestine**, that the Lord has made;
And He exalts it more than all;
Zion Mary, dwelling of the Savior of the World;
The one who invokes Your name and performs its commemoration;
He cuts the Devil's neck with the sword of his prayer.

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301 It is not clear why the text uses masculine gender for the Ark of the Covenant in the last two lines of this *arke*: ዘይሰመይ፡ በስምኪ፡ ታቦት፡ ሙሴ፡ ዘተገብረ፤ ማኅደረ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ዳጎን፡ ቀጥቀጠ፡ ወሰበረ።.

302 In 1 Sam. 5:1–5 the story is told how the Lord smashed the image of the Philistine god Dagon when the Philistines captured the Ark.

303 ዘመነ፡ ፍጻሜ፡ ወሰማኒት፡ 'the last days and the eight [thousand]'. This formulation, according to the teaching of the EOTC, refers to the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, which according to Ethiopian tradition will occur after 8000 years.

304 The verb ተመይጠ፡ 'returns' is in masculine gender, but the relative እንተ፡ is feminine. This seems to be a mistake.

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36. Salutation to Your **bowel**, freshened with the Holy Spirit;
Behold it destroys the spirit of fatigue and sickness;
My Mother Mary, mountain of the sun and peace;
Destroy and scatter the inglorious plots of the Devil;
For he plotted against me to destroy me while sleeping.

37. Salutation to Your **navel**, situated in the middle of the belly;
Glorious, high and ornamented with heavenly garment(s);
Zion, liberator for the one who is imprisoned in heresy;
Turn his faith back towards You until he comprehends;
And towards him send Gabriel, the messenger.[305]

38. Salutation to Your **womb**, the dwelling of Jesus Christ;
Behold it is covered by the Holy Spirit;
Zion the dwelling of God, Zion the dwelling of the King;
Angels praise You while they stand in the port;[306]
For the Virgin is the dwelling of Christ and the upper floor.[307] (P. 284.)

39. Salutation to Your **loins**, firm like brass of iron;
And marvels (at it) man[308]
Zion, Your name quenches thirst;
Being the Bread of Life, it satiates the one who eats;
And it safeguards the author of your effigy.

40. Salutation to Your **legs**, situated left and right,
And clad in flesh and skin, full of spirit and light;
My mother, mountain of the sun, Zion, raise me (to maturity);
Make me wiser, in Your compassion than all wise men;
And make me stand with the righteous in the place of Mount Zion.

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305 **ዘተፈነወ፡** lit. 'who was sent'.

306 The intended sense is not clear to me.

307 **ተስላስ፡** is the 'third floor' of a building, and in some cases it is applied to the upper part of a building as stated in Acts 20:9. For the various definitions of the term, cf. Dillmann 1864: 232; Leslau 1987: 529.

308 In the Gəʿəz, the word for 'man' is in the accusative **ሰብአ፡**, which seems to be a mistake but preserves the rhyme.

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41. Salutation to Your **knees**, which kneel down in the sanctuary;
To the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit;
Zion the gate of Paradise, the Mother of Jesus Christ;
Save me from the water of putrefaction and from punishment and penury;
For I Your servant am weak of intellect and insignificant.

42. Salutation to Your **feet**, which faced stumbling blocks[309] and the thorns of Egypt
As they went running;
Zion, the chariot of Elijah and the prophesy of Isaiah [who is] the son of Amos;
My Lady, save me from the spear and arrow of the adversary;
For I, Your dismayed servant, am without capacity.

43. Salutation to the **heel of Your foot**, sanctifier of the desert of Egypt and Qadesh;[310]
From stone idols and from the dwelling of Satan the unclean;
Zion, do not disdain me, for the sake of the monk Rə'sä Baḥtawi (head of the hermit(s));
Who is named *Gäbrä Ḥəywät*,[311] who went[312] in spirit
And built up the building and the upper floor in Your name.

44. Salutation to the **sole of Your foot**,[313] partaker[314] in suffering and hardship;
And to your toes,[315] fatigued from the road;
Hermit Zion, the ladder to the Highest;[316]

309 The Gəʿəz text has **ሕቅፍት፡** 'embrace', which makes no sense in context. Correct to **እቅፍት፡** (or **ዕቅፍት፡**) 'hindrance, stumbling block'. There may have been graphic confusion between **እ** and **ሕ**.

310 Qadesh lit. 'Holy', refers to the Nagev desert south of Canaan. It is also called Qadesh-barnea (cf. Num. 32:8).

311 The famous monk Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus was also known as Gäbrä Ḥəywät and as *Rə'əsä Baḥtawəyan* 'head of hermits'. The life of this saint is edited and translated by Marrassini (2003).

312 Again, the feminine relative pronoun **እንተ፡** is used with reference to a male person.

313 Cf. **መከየደ፡ እግዚእ፡** an imprint of Jesus at Axum.

314 The Gəʿəz text has **ስቱፋነ፡** which should be corrected to **ሱቱፋነ፡** (cf. Lambdin 1978: 72, Leslau 1987: 517).

315 Lit. 'the fingers of your foot'.

316 'Rama' lit. *high*; for instance 'Abraham' 'the father of the high'.

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My intercessor, intercede for me with your Son, *Fema*;[317]
For you know the weariness of my soul.

45. Salutation to Your **toenails**, the light of heaven and earth;
While they walked, fleeing from country to country;
Zion the ladder of souls and Zion the Ship;
Raise me up towards heaven and transport me across the sea;
So that the sea of fire should not burn me because of my [evil] deed(s).

46. Salutation to Your **stature**, likeness of the verdure of Moses;[318]
Which deserves praise;
Zion, Your own petition makes righteous the sinner;
And pray for me to the Holy Trinity;
For my sin is exceeding the sin of Manasseh.[319]

47. Salutation to Your **effigy**, likeness of the flame of a lamp;
Which gives light during the night;
Zion the throne of (the Lord of) Hosts, and Zion the throne of Divinity;
Cherubim and Seraphim praise You with tongues
Together with Michael and Gabriel the archangels and powers.

48. Salutation to the **departure of Your soul**, the savior of souls from damnation;
And from the cursed devil, and his obedient Satan;[320]
Zion, Your power destroys and demolishes;
The demons of hell, the enemies of man together with the despised devil
Your servant *ʿAmdä Bərhan* will sink (them) by Your power. (P. 285.)

49. I say salutation [to] Your **corpse**, fragrant like galbanum;
And its freshness is beautiful like the cedar of Lebanon;
Zion Mother of God, your name is delightful;
Send me towards righteousness and to the baked bread of Paradise;
For I am obedient to your Son and to what is Yours.

317 *Fema* 'oracular answer, oracle' is also an epithet of Christ. It comes from Greek *phḗmē* 'prophetic saying'. Cf. Dillmann, 1864: 1348; Leslau, 1987: 162.

318 In the Ethiopian tradition, this refers to the Burning Bush (Exod. 3:2).

319 Manasseh did what was evil in the sight of the Lord. For further details of the sins of this king, cf. 2 Kings 21:2–9.

320 The author apparently presents Satan as an underlining of the devil.

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50. Salutation to the **enshrouding** of Your body, covered with a garment of light;
Whose light resembles the likeness of sun and star;
Zion, you are the patience of Abraham and Job;
Protect me from the world, that brings (us) down into the abyss;
And we follow you in flight leaving behind father and mother.[321]

51. Salutation to Your **grave**, the dwelling of three days;
And salutation to Your **assumption**, and Your ascension;
Zion, the hope of the Angels and the hope of men and women;
Archangels and kings lick the dust of Your foot;
For You are Mother of God and above all creation.

52. With these **Sabbaths**, we beseech You, O Virgin;
Our Mother, the sun of suns and the Mother of mercy and compassion;
And we praise You Zion, Mother of Christ, the Most High;
For the one who has been called by Your name, Your own servant and plant;
My Queen, do not cause [me] to enter Gehenna and Hell.
Praise to You, Zion, the Mother of Adonay;
Praise to You, Zion, mountain of light and mountain of the sun;
Praise to You, Zion, sustenance of hermits;
Praise to You, Zion, the power and refuge of martyrs.

53. Come let us bow down to Zion Mary;
Come let us bow down to the Mother of the Savior of the World;
Come let us bow down to the hope of the first Adam;
Come let us bow down in reverence to the Queen of Heaven and the Highest;
For she deserves veneration forever and ever, Amen. (P. 286.)

321 Jesus said that His followers should leave their father and mother to go with Him (Mtt. 10:37–38).

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CHAPTER 7

Summary and Concluding Remarks

Although there are several places in the world with which the Ark of the Covenant has been associated, the Ethiopian claim is the strongest.[1] This claim is based on the narration of the Ethiopic *Kəbrä Nägäśt* 'Dignity of Kings'. KN in 19 chapters[2] speaks of the visit of the Queen of the South to King Solomon and it also mentions the result—the birth of Mənilək. Thus, it presents the blood relation, and the succession, of the Ethiopian kings to the Israelites. This relation, according to KN, is the will of the Almighty God and Mənilək I, the son of King Solomon and Queen of Sheba,[3] was the founder of this line.[4] Prior to the Ethiopian tradition,[5] the story of the Queen of Sheba was based on Biblical accounts of the Queen's visit to King Solomon.[6] It has undergone extensive Arabian and Jewish elaborations and has become the source of one of the most fertile cycles of legends in the Middle East.

KN presents this blood relation of Israel and Ethiopia, and the coming of the Ark of the Covenant to Ethiopia as the will of the Almighty. The corollary is that Israel lost its role as the chosen nation, to be succeeded by Ethiopia. Ethiopians strongly believe this notion, not as a mere legend, but as a reality. Hence KN is a quasi-biblical truth for Ethiopians. The foundation of this belief is the presence of the Ark of the Covenant at Axum. Ethiopians venerate the

1 Geographically we can classify these claims as: Asian (Middle East—buried at the Dome of the Rock, at Jerusalem, taken to Arabia etc.), European (England), African (Zimbabwe, Egypt and Ethiopia).

2 Chapters 21–39.

3 KN ch. 30 describes the sexual union of the King and the Queen in tactful words as **ገብረ፡ ፈቃዶ፤ ወሞሙ፡ ኅቡረ፡** 'He fulfilled his will, and they slept together'. Moreover, the text appears to say that the Queen was found a virgin after their union (Marrassini 2008a: 810). This theme of virgin motherhood is a universal folkloric topos (cf. Saintyves 1908).

4 The claim of the Ethiopian kings to be the successors of Mənilək I ('Solomonid dynasty') is based on this notion.

5 The Sheba-Solomon tradition in Ethiopia is deep-rooted and predates even the composition of KN. Tedeschi (1987: 165–173) after dealing with the Arabic biography of the Coptic Patriarch, Cosmos III (AD 921–933), observes that the Queen of Sheba is mentioned by name in the Arabic text, which indicates that the legend has existed since the early days. For an updated comprehesnive overview see Piovanelli 2013.

6 Cf. 1 Kings 10:1–13; 2 Chron. 9:1–12; Mtt. 12:42; Lk. 11:31.

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Ark of the Covenant; as we have seen in the first chapter above, *tabot*s are considered to be replicas of the AC. Ethiopians thus composed a homily which glorifies the Ark, the *Dərsanä Ṣəyon*.

The annual feast of *Ḫədar Ṣəyon* at Axum Zion enjoys a high degree of public participation. The solemn ceremonies and worship are of immense significance. One of the ceremonies is the reading of DṢ in front of the Ark Chapel, then kissing the book and receiving its blessing. Infertile women carry the manuscript and make vows before the Ark in order that they bear fruit.

DṢ thus has religious, hermeneutical and social values, and has historical as well as contemporary significance.[7] The text presents Mariology in a highly exegetical manner. Mariology is expressed in numerous symbols. The prominent Ark-Mary metaphors and characterizations are:

> Golden lamp stand
> True Ark of the Law
> Ark of the Law of the Covenant
> Our Mother Zion, holder of dew of the divinity
> Bride of Lebanon, which is like the throne of the father of Rehoboam (= Solomon)
> Zion, our Ark of the Law, our Lady
> Zion, the celestial Temple
> Zion, the golden ship
> Our Lady Mary, Queen of heaven and earth
> Our Mother Zion, pride of children and elders, etc.[8]

It is highly worthwhile, therefore, to study DṢ text systematically and to produce its critical edition. The methodology used to reconstruct the text is Neo-Lachmannian reconstruction. In general, with just a few exceptions, all texts available to us today are copied texts, which show various innovations (in some cases, errors) including their own additions. Scribes and copyists do not systematically change the received text; neither they do correct its errors. It is customary to maintain everything in the text (including the errors). Bausi (2010: 143) gives the justification why philological analysis is done on the basis of errors or shared innovations. The findings of the Neo-Lachmannian method as applied to DṢ are as follows:

7 Because the veneration of the Ark of the Covenant and the ceremony still continue today.

8 For further analysis on the subject, cf. Amsalu Tefera 2012: 71–96.

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Textual History

As described in the third chapter, MSS [C] and [T] are the earliest copies and can be supposed to date back to the 15th and 16th century respectively. Apparently the original text must have been composed prior to AD 1400. With regard to the textual arrangement of DṢ, the ten manuscripts can be grouped into four types:

1) Initially, DṢ was composed separately as attested in NL 273 [C], EMML 8429 [K] and EMML 8823 [F].
2) DṢ was compiled together with other Marian texts to form DM. This is attested in three manuscripts: [S] + [Q] + [T] = S + ξ.
3) Due to similarity of the content of KN and DṢ, the two came to be considered together as a single text: DṢ 'proper' as an introduction and KN as the body. This is clear in sub-archetype β = A + B + P = (A + δ).
4) The codex NL 630 [D] contains *Tarikä Nägäśt* (ff. 1^{ra}–40^{vb}) and DṢ (ff. 41^{ra}–59^{va}) in one volume.

We can speculate that the text was originally composed solely as the so called 'DṢ 'proper''. Later it merged with two other texts due to its content similarity. As it exalts the Ark of the Covenant and equates the Blessed Virgin Mary with the celestial Zion, it was compiled together with homilies in honor of St. Mary (DM). We can also hypothesize the reason why the text was compiled with KN: both are concerned with the Ark of the Covenant, KN narrating the story, DṢ expounding on the honor and glory of the AC.

Attested Manuscripts

The edition is based on ten manuscripts, which were collected from various places. Their sigla are:

[A] Axum MS, EC 1925;
[B] Ǝnṭoṭṭo MS, 20th cent. AD;
[C] Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency, NL 273, 15th cent. AD;
[D] Addis Ababa, National Archives and Library Agency, NL 630, EC 1977;
[F] Bäbbäks Däbrä Gännät St. Mary Church, EMML 8823, 19th cent. AD;
[K] Baḥər Dar, Kota Maryam, EMML 8429, 17th cent. AD;
[P] Published text by Ṭana Qirqos Communal Monastery, EC 1998;
[Q] Ṭana MS, EMML 8713, 18th cent. AD;

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[S] Däbrä Tabor, Dära, Šəme Maryam, EMML 8979, 19th cent. AD;
[T] Lake Ṭana, Däbrä Maryam in the island monastery, Ṭānāsee 72, 16th cent. AD.

Bipartite *Stemma*

As we can see from the list of archetype errors,[9] all the manuscripts share eleven common errors. This is a testimony that they are derived from the same common source or 'archetype', designated by the Greek letter [Ω]. The *stemma* is reconstructed as a bipartite stemma; primary divisions are called α and β, both of which in turn produce sub-families:

D + K = [ε];
C + F = λ, Q + T = ξ; λ + ξ = [φ];
S + φ = [γ].

The inferior families [γ] and [ε] form the family [α], which is the left wing of the *stemma codicum*. On the other hand, the right wing of the stemma [β] is formed by:

B + P = [δ];
δ + A = [β].

The critical edition of DṢ, as shown in the *apparatus criticus*, shows both adiaphoric errors (viz. characteristic/variant readings, insertions, omissions/*homoioteleuta* etc.) and conjunctive innovations. As is standard Neo-Lachmannian practice, the conjunctive errors are the sole parameters for establishing manuscript families in the critical edition presented above.[10]

We can list the following points as concluding remarks.

– DṢ, from the literary point of view, is one of the most important and popular Ethiopian texts. So it is an attractive target for research.
– From the theological point of view, it provides the best material for the history of the Ark and Mariology. Its exegetical presentation and hermeneutical approach are detailed and precise.

9 Chapter 3 (pp. 103–109) of this book.
10 Cf. McCarter 1986: 62 for a detailed note on these steps.

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– As far as the scope of DṢ 'proper' is concerned, it breaks off the Ark story at the destruction of the First Temple.[11] Mention of Axum and other later Ethiopian traditions related to the Ark of the Covenant is found in the *Tä'amməra Ṣəyon* 'Miraclse of Zion' of EMML—8823 [F] and the colophon[12] of the sub-family β [A, B and P].
– The text crucially complements the *Kəbrä Nägäśt*. If we add the account of DṢ (honor and glory) to the KN (story), then we will have the complete Ark story. Nevertheless, the text originally was composed as a separate text.
– As the Ark of the Covenant is supposed to be deposited at Axum chapel, then positing Axum as the origin of the text is a plausible assumption. However, copies of DṢ were later disseminated to other parishes and monasteries.
– DṢ has major cultural, religious and social values. A text edition and annotated translation of *Dərsanä Ṣəyon* hopefully provides an important contribution to various research areas.

11 Cf. DṢ §§ 112–113.

12 Cf. Amsalu Tefera 2014b.

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Appendix

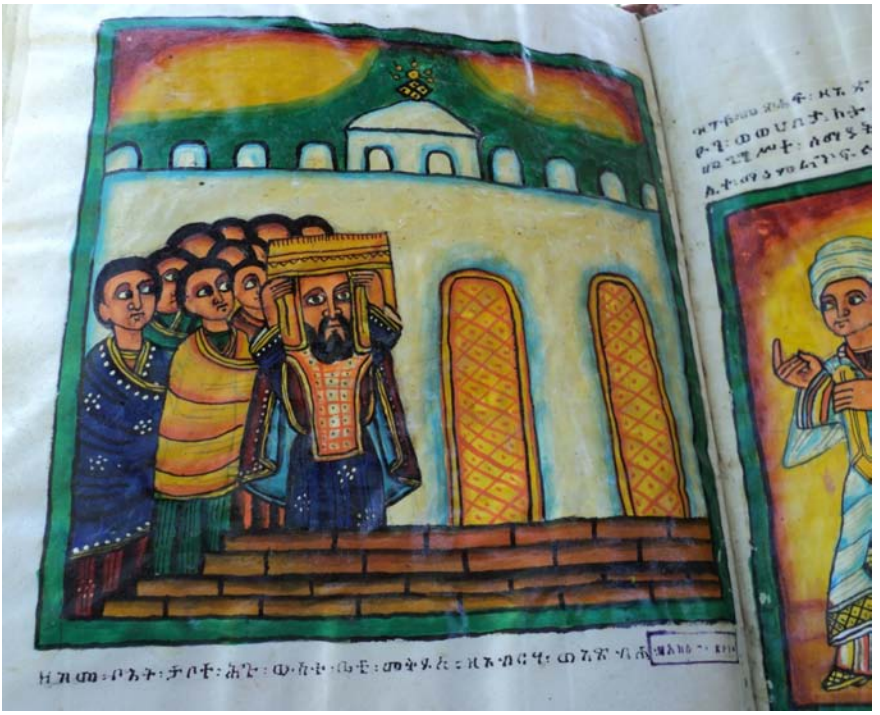

FIGURE 1 *Ark of the Covenant is transported to Axum and entered to the Temple*
PHOTO FROM AXUM MS BY AMSALU TEFERA, DECEMBER 6, 2010

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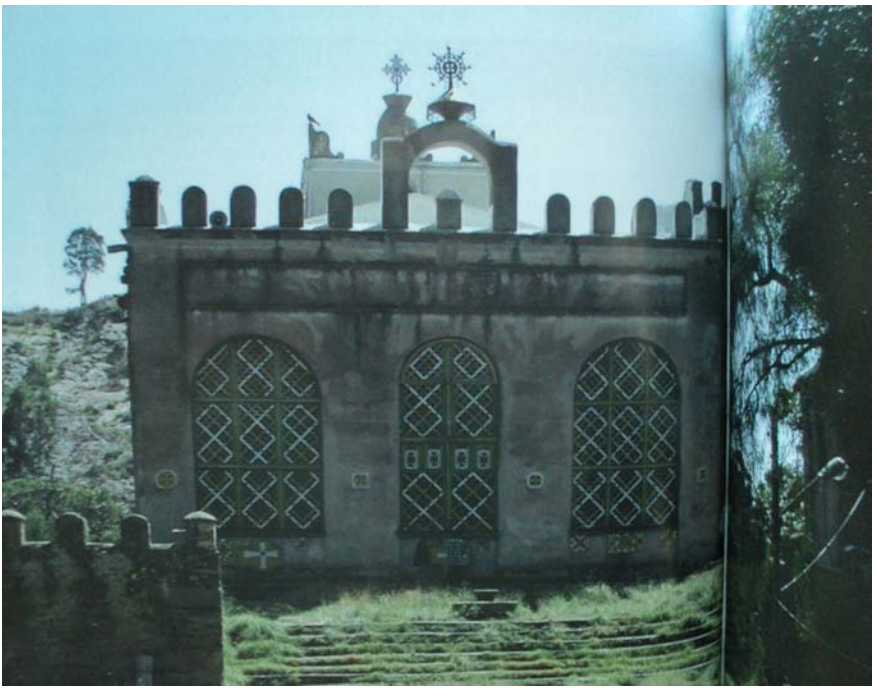

FIGURE 2 *Fasil's Cathedral of Axum Church*
PHOTO BY AMSALU TEFERA SEPTEMBER 23, 2008

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FIGURE 3 *New Cathedral of Axum Zion*
PHOTO BY AMSALU TEFERA, SEPTEMBER 23, 2008

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FIGURE 4 *The Ark Chapel*
PHOTO BY AMSALU TEFERA, DECEMBER 4, 2010

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FIGURE 5 *DS reading ceremony in front of the Ark Chapel*
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Abbreviations of Journals, Series and Other Publications

Aethiopica *Aethiopica*: *International Journal of Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies*, Wiesbaden.

CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Parisiis—Romae—Lipsiae—Louvain.

DAE Enno Littmann (ed.), *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, 4 vols., Berlin 1913.

EAe Siegbert Uhlig (ed.) *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, vol. 1 (*A–C*), Wiesbaden 2003; vol. 2 (*D–Ha*), 2005; vol. 3 (*He–N*), 2007; in cooperation with Alessandro Bausi (ed.), vol. 4 (*O–X*), 2010; A. Bausi in cooperation with S. Uhlig (ed.), vol. 5 (*Y–Z, Supplementa, Addenda et Corrigenda, Maps, Index*), 2014.

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JES *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa.

RIÉ Étienne Bernand, Abraham Johannes Drewes, Roger Schneider, *Recueil des Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite. Introduction de Fr. Anfray*, vol. 1: *Les documents*; vol. 2: *Les Planches*, Paris 1991.

RSE *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Roma—Napoli.

SAe *Scriptores Aethiopici* (within CSCO).

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